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Bonnie C. Wade

The Meeting of Musical Cultures in the 16th-Century Court of the Mughal Akbar

The Mughal Period – roughly the early 16th to mid-19th centuries – was a significant time in the history of the Indian sub-continent. In the 16th century particularly, the Mughal court provided a multi-cultural context and a climate congenial to cultural change. In this article I shall present evidence of that context and of the process of change with regard to music. My sources are visual – paintings produced in the imperial Mughal ateliers.

In 1526 a prince whose ancestral roots lay in central Asia, whose cultural heritage was that of the Timurid courts of Samarkand and Bukhara, but whose claimed territory was limited mostly to the area around Kabul in present-day Afghanistan turned to the riches of India for new conquests. In so doing, Babur (or Babar), prince of the line of Timur or Tamerlane as he became known to the West, lay the foundation for the Mughal empire which was to come close to uniting the subcontinent under one political power. While the name of the Mughals' ancestor, Timur, elicits visions of bloody warfare and barbaric cruelty toward those conquered, the Timurid heritage was in fact balanced by extraordinary patronage of learning, of architecture and of the arts. Babur was both an able leader and a cultural man in the Timurid sense which included knowing the art of painting – perhaps even practicing it himself – and also being a patron of the arts. From his beautifully written memoirs, it is clear that Babur conceived his role of patron as an active one in the process of producing a work of art (Chandra 1976:9-10).

Given the impetus by Babar with regard to patronage, it could be expected that his successors would continue such a course. That expectation was fulfilled and active involvement with the art produced under them was characteristic of Babur's Mughal successors. As is always the case, the personality and taste of the actively-involved patron affected the art produced for him.

Three of the Mughals were significant for the history of painting in India. Babur's son and heir to his title, Humayun (r. 1530 – 1556), apparently considered the availability of a painter to be a natural circumstance of life. It was rather like having an official photographer along to record significant events. There is a wonderful story of Humayun recorded in the memoirs of Jauhar, his waterbearer (Stewart 1972:43). Shortly after the accession of Humayun to his father's title, there was such bitter internecine strife that Humayun was in real danger of losing all that his father had gained and his own title, as well. He was forced to flee India to seek the help of the Safavid Persian ruler Shah Tahmasp. Even in his sorely reduced state when practically all possessions had been lost, a painter had to be available to Humayun – to reproduce the beautiful image of a bird which happened to fly into his tent. What is most significant about Humayun as a Mughal patron of art is that he later brought to his court in India two painters whose work he had admired at the Safavid court in Persia. Art historians have spent great effort sorting out the Persian elements in the style of art produced from Humayun's time to the end of the 16th century in India.

It was Humayun's son Akbar, however, to whom credit must be given for the purposeful development of a distinctive Mughal style of painting (cf. Illustration 1).[1] Akbar ruled from 1556-1605 – sufficiently long to have enormous effect on the history of India. He was an extraordinary person by any measure – a man of catholic tastes, broad intellectual and artistic interests, political and military ambition and acumen, and tremendous energy. He sought to rule well in India and his modus operandum was to create a culture which synthesized elements from his own central Asian culture, from the sophisticated Safavid Persian culture, and from the various cultures he came to know in India. That modus he applied to all aspects of his rule – to systems of government and taxation, for example, to religion, as well as to the arts.

True to his Timurid heritage, Akbar studied painting himself and was a very involved patron (Chandra 1976:22). He directed one of the Persian artists he "inherited" from his father's atelier – Mir Sayyid 'Ali – to teach other artists, and thereby transmit technical virtuosity in the Persian style and also the necessity for keen powers of observation. But the patron Akbar added his own catholicity of spirit and taste, to direct a process of synthesis of non-Indian and Indian artistic traditions into a new style. More than 100 master painters and innumerable lesser artists worked in his atelier, under his constant personal direction. Akbar chose artists by talent rather than by hereditary vocation. Significantly for the emerging style, more than three-fourths of them were Indian (whether Hindu or Muslim Indian) who brought to the Mughal atelier knowledge of their indigenous traditions of art.

Ill. 1 Akbar at court receives the child Abdu'r Rahim, heir of Bairam Khan. "Akbarnāma," *fol. 7. 1590s.*

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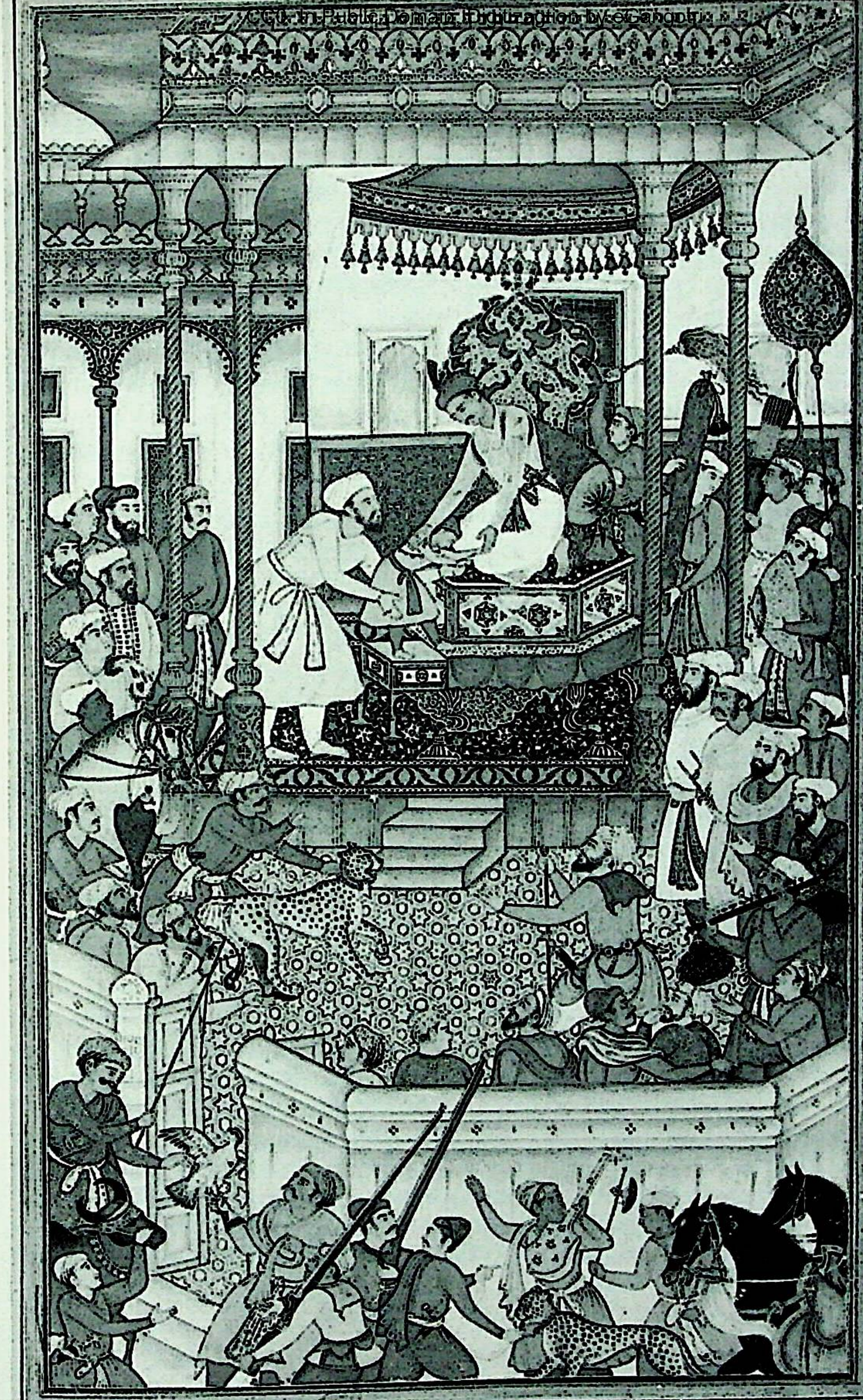


٦ آوردن عبدالرحیم میرزا را بملازمت حضرت [illegible] عمل [illegible]

Akbar's son, Jehangir (r. 1605-1627), was also a serious patron of painting and to him can be attributed the ultimate refinement of the distinctive Mughal style. Jehangir chose to reduce the number of artists in his workshop, and to concentrate on perfection of a more focused style. Unfortunately, far fewer paintings produced in his atelier depict music-making because he preferred portraiture and vignettes to the complex scenes of the bustle of daily life which his father enjoyed. The development of the Mughal style, then, was affected by the presence of artists brought from Persia by Humayun, but was really initiated under Akbar, perfected under Jehangir, and continued under the remaining Mughal rulers.

In this article I concentrate on paintings produced in the imperial workshop of the great Mughal Akbar. There are hundreds of them, many of which offer a wealth of information about music-making. What we have is almost accidental evidence of musical activity in diverse spheres of Mughal life, as the painters included musicians and music-making as natural to the scenes they recorded – whether battle scenes, or court audiences, or domestic scenes such as a family squabble, a marriage celebration or festivities upon the birth of a prince. The paintings are in remarkably different styles, revealing a gradual synthesis of indigenous Indian styles and the pre-Mughal Indo-Persian style (which is strikingly Persian with some Indian features) with the Safavid Persian style as it was carried out in several places including the Mughal family's native area in central Asia.[2] Not surprisingly for a court at which internationalism and catholicity of spirit and taste prevailed, the paintings also depict the meeting of those same several cultures in music-making.

Akbari-period sources which include paintings of music-making are all illustrated manuscripts, and those are of several sorts. Illustrated copies of Akbar's favorite narrative stories are a major source. The earliest such manuscript which survives is the *"Ṭūṭī-nāma,"* or "Tales of a Parrot" which was painted c. 1560-1565, illustrating a book written about 200 years earlier. The *"Ṭūṭī-nāma"* is a fanciful, romantic but moralistic set of 52 stories. Ziya'u'd-din Nakhshabi, the author, was born in Nakhshab, a city situated in the area of Bukhara and Samarkand from which the Mughal family later came (Simsar 1978:xvii-xviii). There is some evidence that he settled in India by the time of the rule of Qutbu'd-din Khalji (r. 1316-1320); he died in India in 1350. Nakhshabi's *"Ṭūṭī-nāma"* came to be at the request of a nobleman who showed him a book containing 52 tales translated from an Indian language into Persian, and asked Nakhshabi to rewrite it in a simpler style. This Nakhshabi did (in Persian), but in the process he also changed some of the stories and substituted a number from a variety of other sources Indian and non-Indian.

The first story of the *"Ṭūṭī-nāma"* tells of a woman by the name of Khojasta whose husband, Maymun, has gone away on the advice of his wise parrot, Tuti, to engage in ocean commerce and gain a fortune. As chance would have it, Khojasta (who, to her credit, had pleaded with her husband not to go or to take her with him) falls in love with a prince who happens to pass by, and finally cannot resist the passion it arouses in her. When Khojasta's pet myna bird advises her to resist her feelings, the hapless bird loses its head. Tuti, a wiser bird, advises her to pursue her passion, but on each of the 52 nights until Maymun returns, manages to keep her at home by telling a story and thereby prevents her from being unfaithful.

The stories are quite diverse, and one is specifically about music. On the 13th night (cf. Illustration 2) as Khojasta is preparing to go meet her lover, she says to Tuti,

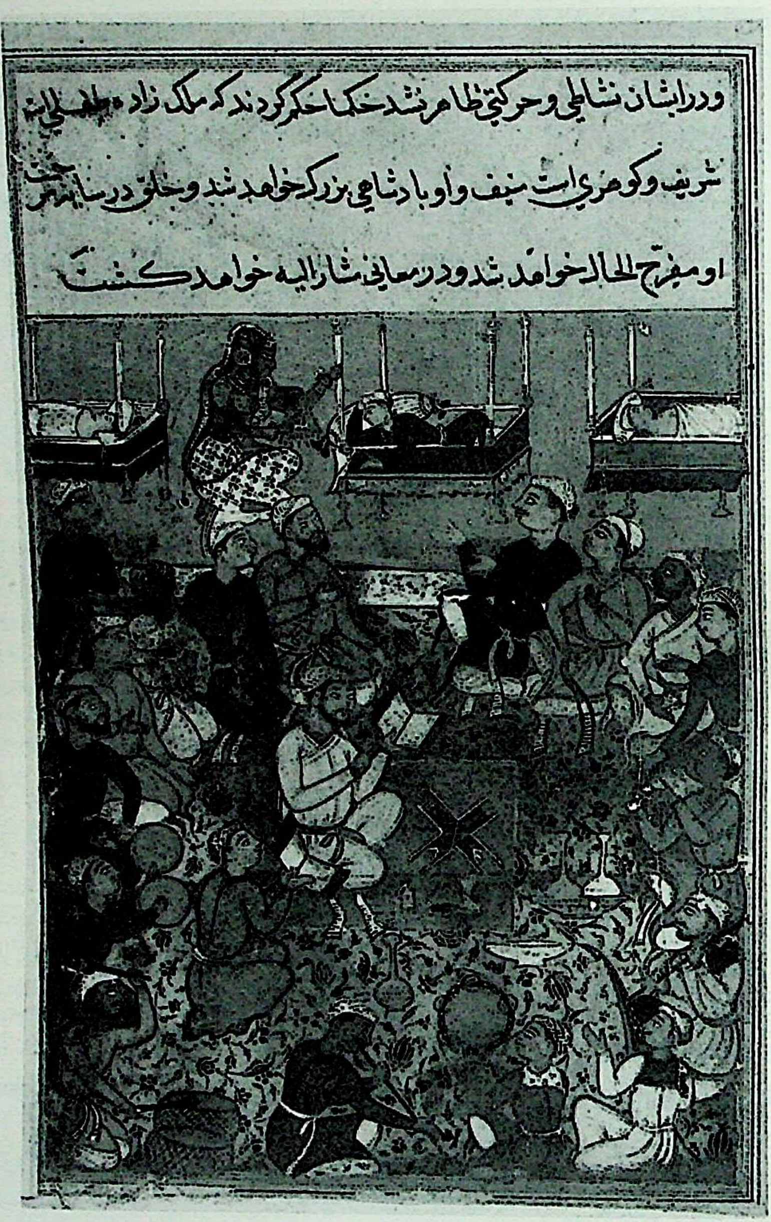
> "I want to experience the beginning, the development, and the conclusion of love, but my heart is hesitant because I am not sufficiently informed about his lineage. If you will enlighten me so that I may learn the true facts about his family and be fully informed about his background and experience, this will be a great favor and an invaluable service."
>
> "The manifestations of man's knowledge are many," replies Tuti, "and the revelations of his character are numerous. One of these is his reaction to the sound of music.... The art of music will find response only in a gentle nature and a well-modulated disposition" (Simsar 1978:97).

Thereupon follows Tuti's story of a king in Isfahan (note: not an Indian king) whose heir was an infant; to be certain that this infant was worthy of assuming the throne, eighty clear-thinking wise men convened and

> by unanimous opinion and with complete agreement decided that all kinds of musical instruments should be brought, that every variety of implements for playing joyful music should be assembled, and that other cradles should be placed next to the prince's cradle. If he should respond gleefully when he hears the music, then he is truly of noble birth, but if he should not be moved by it, he is without doubt of low origin (Simsar 1978:99) (underlining B.W.).

Needless to say, it is the prince of Isfahan who listens to the music in Illustration 2.

From the youthful Akbar's love of narrative stories we have the fabulous *"Ḥamza Nāma,"* as well. The *"Ḥamza Nāma"* consists of legendary tales of bois-



و در ایشان نشاطی و حرکتی ظاهر شد حکما حکم کردند که ملک زاده طفلی است
شریف و گوهری است منیف و او پادشاهی بزرگ خواهد شد و خلق در سایه مرحمت
او مرفه الحال خواهند شد و در رعایای مشار الیه خواهد گشت

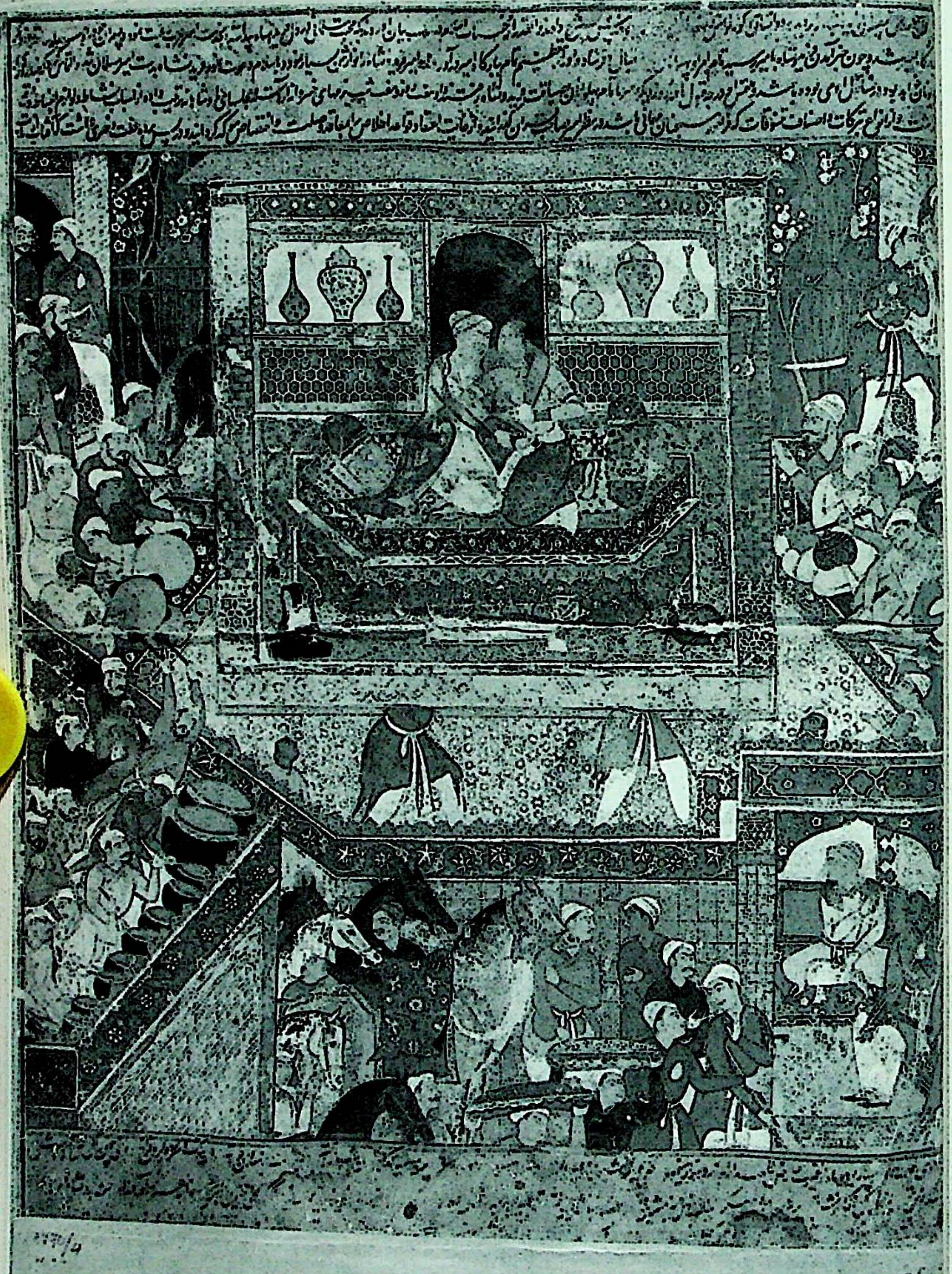
terous adventure in Ceylon, China, central Asia and Rum (Turkey), centering around Ḥamza who was originally a Persian insurrectionary leader, but was subsequently identified with the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad who had the same name (Chandra 1976:62). The tales, which were of Persian origin, were also very popular in India, and were a particular favorite with Akbar. He would recite them in the harem like a story teller, or relax by listening to them after a strenuous hunt (Beveridge 1977-II:343-4). Akbar ordered a new version of the stories to be written and illustrated on a magnificent scale both in number and in size. The colossal project was completed in fourteen volumes, including a total of 1400 paintings, of which 140 have survived. Unlike most Mughal paintings which were miniatures, the *"Ḥamza"* paintings were large enough to be seen across a room (or tent).

Battle scenes are particularly numerous in the surviving *"Ḥamza Nāma"* folios, and it is mostly in such scenes that "musical" instruments are included – primarily drums, trumpets, and horns used for signalling. A scene in the collection of the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (cf. Illustration 3), however, provides a tantalizing suggestion of information the many lost paintings might have transmitted about music-making. This painting, Fol. V4, titled "Hamza Marries the Daughter of Faridva Shah, who Converts to Islam," is marked by characteristics of Mughal style painting – busyness and incredible attention to detail – that make these paintings valuable for cultural study. Illustration 3 is also interesting in that it was in process of being repainted – which was not unusual.

As Akbar matured, he turned to subtler literature – to poetry such as the *"Dīvān"* of the 12th-century Persian poet Auhaduddin Anvari, and had his artists and calligraphers produce beautiful volumes which included "gently romantic miniatures." Illustration 4, titled "Heavenly Joys Come to Earth," was painted for an "unusually small manuscript, with fifteen miniatures as fragile as butterfly wings;" it measures only 5 ½ by 2 ⅞ inches, with the text area only 4 ⅛ by 2 inches (Schimmel & Welch 1983:13,66). Commissioned by Akbar and copied by a royal scribe at Lahore in 1588 when Akbar was forty-seven years old, the *"Dīvān* of Anvari" was conceivably commissioned with some lady in mind, for part of the imperial library was kept in the harem (Schimmel & Welch 1983:31).

Lastly, historical writing was illustrated. For example, Akbar had the memoirs of his grandfather Babur translated from Chaghatai Turki into Persian as the *"Bābur Nāma"* and illustrated four times, if not more, during one decade. Espe-

Ill. 2 Infant son of King of Isfahan responds to music. "Ṭūṭī-nāma," *fol. 105r. 1560–65.*



cially important is the *"Akbarnāma,"* the official chronicle of Akbar's own reign written by his close friend Abu'l Fazl. The text of the chronicle, but also the paintings in the three illustrated copies of the *"Akbarnāma"* that survive complete or in part are particularly valuable for diverse information about life in the Mughal establishment, including music-making. In folio 7 of the manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), for example, Akbar presides over a court session – in this case receiving the child Abdu'r Rahim, four year old heir to Akbar's former guardian, Bairam Khan, who had been murdered on the way to Mecca (cf. Illustration 1). The scene of Akbar's acceptance of the child, while significant personally and politically in the story of the Mughal, includes myriad detail about such court sessions (Sen 1984:127), including the presence of musicians inside and outside the area close to the ruler.

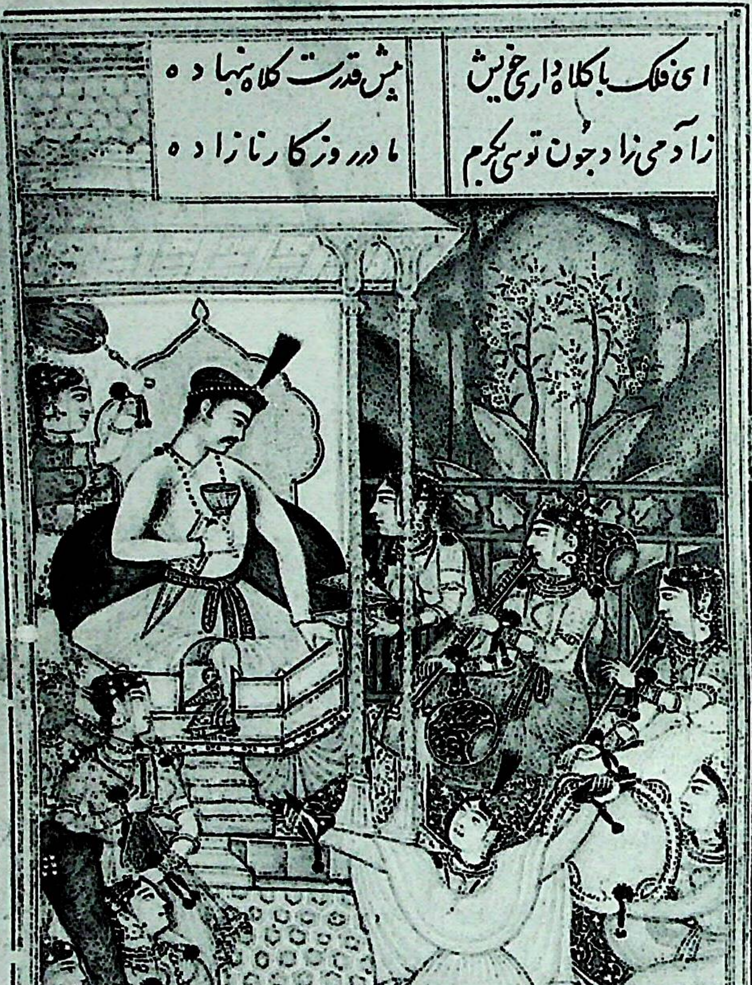
It is well known to historians of Indian music that a process of synthesis of western Asian music with Indian had been underway for quite some time when the *"Saṅgīta Ratnākara"* authored in Sanskrit in the 13th century confirmed it in theoretical writing. In the 14th century, the storyteller Nakhshabi suggested a purposeful process of musical synthesis in the story of the 13th night in his *"Ṭūṭī-nāma:"*

> O Nakhshabi, playing the *tar* with skill is a rare art. Listening to doleful music makes the tears flow like streams. Who can make a melody out of the sound of the wind? To play the *tar* and sing, one must originate new themes. A person should know … out of how many Indian melodies one Persian melody can be formulated, or how many Indian melodies are contained in one Persian melody. He must know which of these [Indian] melodies is masculine and which is feminine… . If in the process of composition, the masculine of a melody is combined with the feminine of another, neither will the listener derive any pleasure from hearing it, nor will the musician have any desire to play or to sing it. He should know who the originators and the masters of this science were … (Simsar 1978:98).[3]

Two centuries later, illustrating that story of the 13th night of the *"Ṭūṭī-nāma,"* "all kinds of musical instruments" (cf. quote above) both Indian and non-Indian were depicted by the artist (cf. Illustration 2). With the conventional motion used by painters to indicate who they are, singers lift their hands as well as voices in song. The instruments are *bīn* (*vīṇā*, a plucked stick zither), *chang* (harp), *daf* (tambourine, frame drum) and *na'ī* (flute), *naqqāra* (bowl-shaped drums) and *sanj* (cymbals). Quite an assemblage, and more an artistic illustration of the dictates of the story than a real musical ensemble. While we cannot know what music

Ill. 3 Hamza Nama marries the daughter of Faridva Shah, who converts to Islam, "Ḥamza Nāma," *fol. V4. 1565–1572.*

ای فلک باکلاه داری خویش   پیش قدرت کلاه بنهاده
زآدمی زاد چون تو بی کرم   مادر روزگار نازاده



خواب خرگوش غرگین ترا   شیر نر همچو روبه ماده
بنده با چند خر بطست امروز   چون خر اندر کلاب افتاده

was played on those instruments, we can consider depictions of them in other paintings for clues to the multi-cultural nature of music-making and evidence of musical change.

Who are the musicians playing that assortment of instruments? It is well known from several contemporary manuscript sources that Akbar had in his employ as diverse a group of musicians as he had painters:

> And soft-voiced Indian maids,
> Glorious as Indian peafowl,
> And light-fingered Chinese musicians
> Produced intoxication with wineless cups;
> And dulcimer-players from Khurasan
> Brought ease to laden breasts,
> And singers from the land of 'Iraq,
> Everlasting capturers of joy (Beveridge 1977-I:58).

In what more lyrical way than that passage of exultation upon the birth of Akbar could Abu'l Fazl inform us of the multi-cultural nature of music-making in the Mughal sphere? In a less lyrical manner in his famous compendium of information about Akbar's reign (the *"Ā'īn-i Akbarī"*) Abu'l Fazl states:

> His Majesty pays much attention to music, and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women (Blochmann 1977-I:681).

Of the 36 principal musicians he then lists, we learn where 21 were from: most of the singers listed came from within India, from Gwalior which was famous at the time for its school for singers. From outside India the places specified are Mashhad (then and now in Persia), Khorasan (the region just north of Mashhad), Herat (in present-day Afghanistan), and Kipchak, in the area of the lower Volga River (Blochmann 1977-I:681-2). Abu'l Fazl also specified the instruments on which those principal musicians specialized: two were specified for musicians from within India, while six were played by foreign musicians.[4] With such an assortment of musicians and instruments gathered together, it is hard to imagine that the process of purposeful synthesis suggested by Nakshabhi in the 13th century was not continuing in Akbar's musical household two centuries later.

The *bīn* (*vīṇā*, a plucked stick zither) is one of the two instruments played by a musician from India in Abu'l Fazl's list of principal musicians at the court of Akbar: he names a Muslim, Shahib Khan, from Gwalior. I think it is safe to say

Ill. 4 Heavenly joys come to earth, "Dīvān of Anvari," *fol. 242r. 1588. Opaque watercolor on paper.*

that the *bīn* is an Indian instrument. Various scholars have traced its history to ancient times, depicted on temple sculpture and in other artistic media. Within the period of Akbar's reign the *bīn* is shown in paintings in diverse forms and with lesser and greater degree of care in the drawing, as in Illustration 5, a detail of Illustration 1.

From paintings such as Illustration 1 it is clear that the *bīn* – the quintessentially Indian instrument – came to be the primary instrument played in official Mughal court sessions from the time of Akbar.[5] Given the relatively small number of Indian instruments depicted in paintings as actively used in Mughal court life, its presence at the *durbār* – a moment of official display of power – is significant. There are several possible explanations for it. One is that the *bīn* was a politically astute symbol of the cultural synthesis that Akbar worked so successfully to achieve. It could also have been a symbol of Akbar's conquest of India. In addition, it was also an instrument associated with the famous singer Tansen, the most prestigious musician of that time, who joined the Akbari court in 1562 as a result of political as well as cultural power play. A fourth possible reason why the *bīn* became primary in such official contexts is a musical one: the necessary combination of percussively-delineated meter and melody which marks the music of India as well as the musical cultures to the west of India is obtainable technically on the *bīn*; it would be less disturbing in court background music for a melody instrument to be used to fulfill both musical functions. In Illustrations 1 and 5, the *bīn* player seems to be accompanying singers, one to each side of him with hands uplifted in the conventional position.

Also mentioned in the *"Ā'īn-i Akbarī"* and included in the *"Ṭūṭī-nāma"* painting (Illustration 2) is the *na'i* (*nay*), a flute known widely throughout the Muslim world. Indeed, the *na'i* player mentioned by Abu'l Fazl was from Mashhad in Persia (Blochmann 1977-I:681). I have found the *na'i* depicted in eight different Akbari-period illustrated manuscripts and expect to find it in more.[6] Such frequency of appearance suggests that the *na'i* was a widely used and appreciated musical instrument in the Akbari period.

In contrast to the indigenous Indian transverse flute, the *na'i* is held vertically and at an angle to the torso for playing. The *"Ṭūṭī-nāma"* painting (Illustration 2) is a clear depiction of a *na'i* held just like that. Other flutes which are unquestionably of the vertical type are not so obviously sketched in the paintings at an angle

Ill. 5 Akbar at court receives the child Abdu'r Rahim, heir of Bairam Khan, "Akbarnāma," *detail of fol. 7.*

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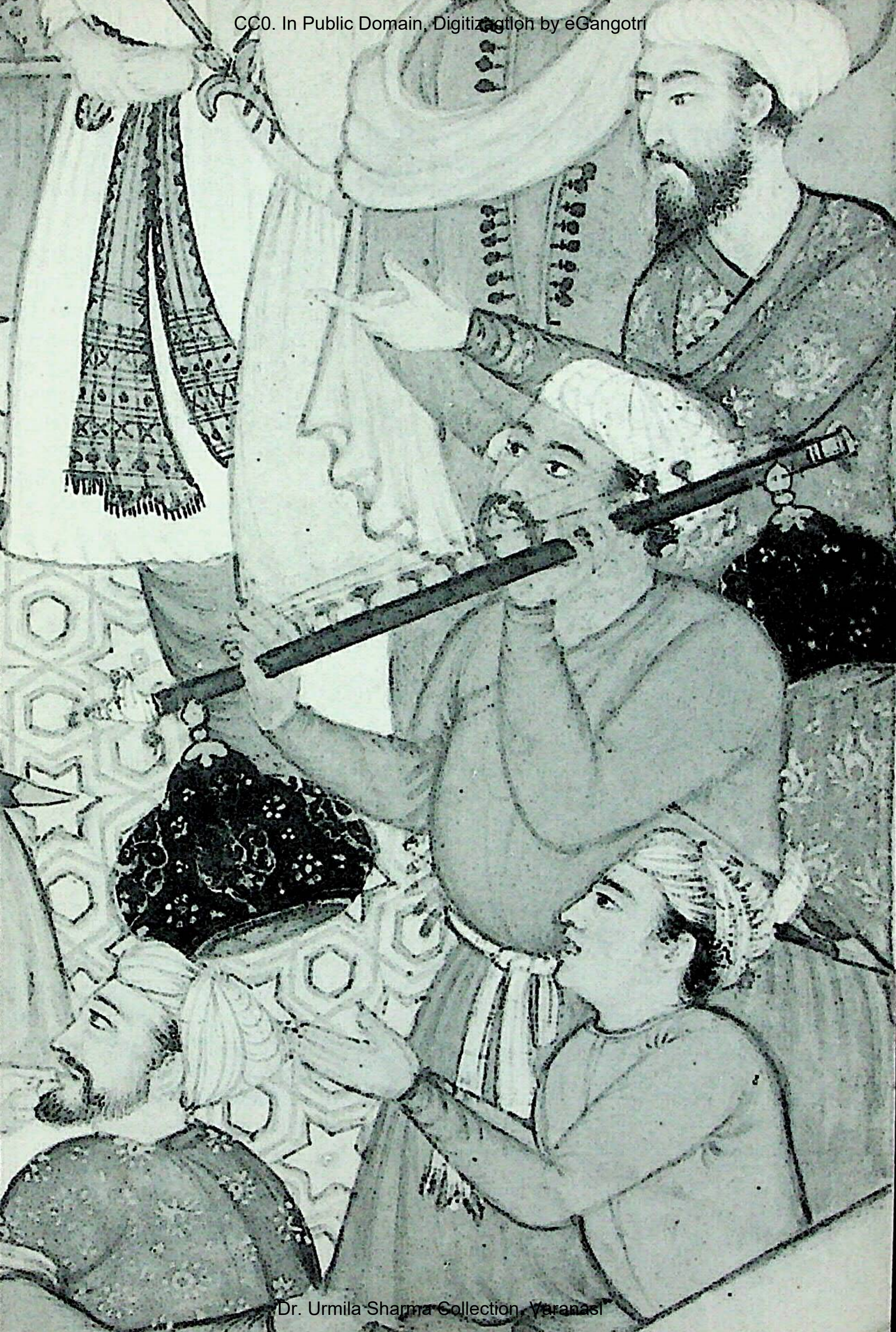
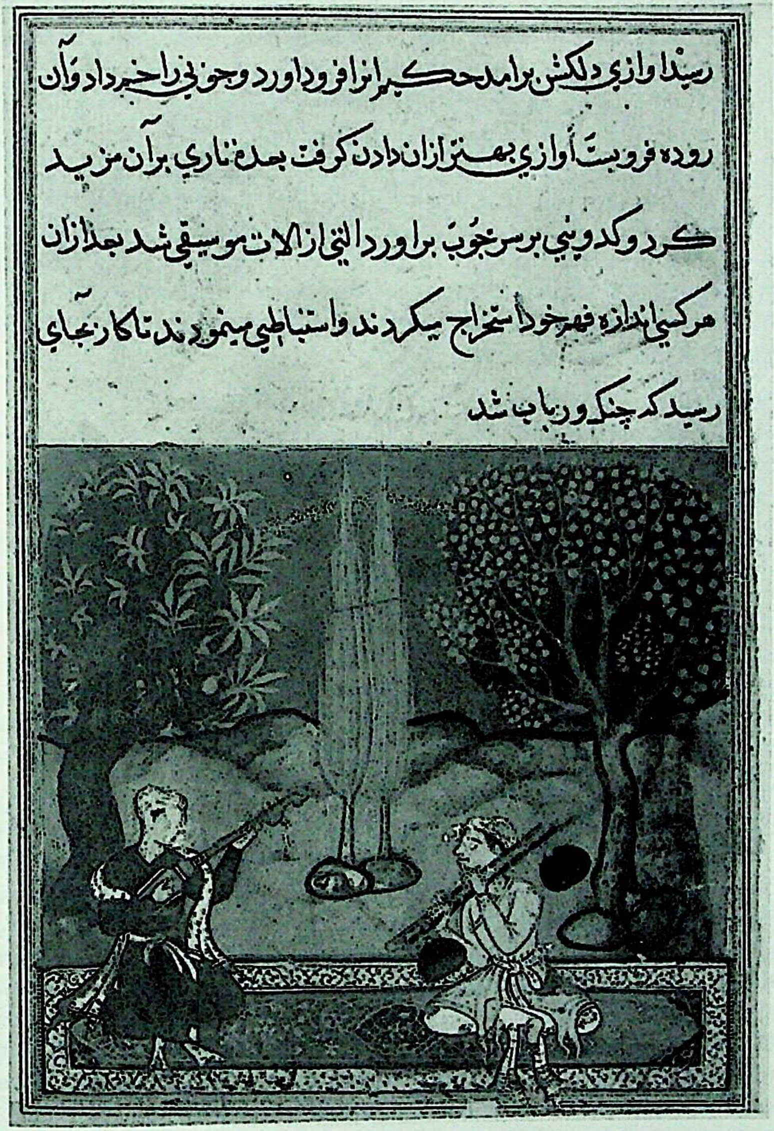


to the torso of the player. The length of the instruments and the position of the hands (the left hand at the lower end of the instrument), however, are so consistent from painting to painting that I would identify them as *na'i*, but fault the artists for incautious sketching (cf. Illustration 4).

The *na'i* is consistently depicted as an ensemble instrument. In the paintings I have located the *na'i* is shown with *daf* for percussion and with one or more stringed instruments: *qānūn* is possible; a *rebāb* (or *rubāb*)-type lute or a long-necked lute is likely, or a bowed-lute (*ghichak*)[7] could also be included in an ensemble. In Illustration 3, the flute is combined with a harp (*chang*). Such an ensemble is likely to be playing for a festive occasion such as the celebration of the Muslim religious holiday of *'id*, a marriage, a celebratory feast, or rejoicing at the news of the birth of a prince.[8] Finding such "*na'i* ensembles" composed of other western Asian instruments, Andrew Grieg makes the reasonable suggestion of the implication of a Persianized music being made on them (1987:482).

More intriguing as evidence for musical synthesis in this period of Akbar's rule, however, are paintings which show the Indian *bīn* in ensemble with western Asian instruments. In fol. 245r of the *"Dīvān* of Anvari" (Illustration 4), for instance, is found what I take to be clear ensemble combining of *bīn* with *na'i* (and *daf*). In this scene Akbar is being entertained in private quarters by dancers and musicians. Painted in 1588 when the synthesis of artistic styles was fully underway, this beautiful painting shows also the synthesis of cultures at the court of Akbar: the players of the western Asian *na'i* and of the gorgeously painted Indian *bīn* are wearing Indian dress, while the dancer wears the central Asian dress of the Chagatai Turki Mughal women.[9] It is just as likely that the music being played is "Persianized" Indian music as it is Indian music or "Persian" music. And such glimpses into the sphere of female musicians confirm the likelihood that women as well as men were creative forces for musical and cultural change.

Striking as well for a suggestion of music-making that would contribute to the process of musical synthesis is Illustration 6, showing two musicians: a player of *rebāb* and a player of *bīn*. As Andrew Grieg concluded, the *rebāb* is the one western Asian instrument which we can be sure was gradually developed and changed morphologically into an Indian instrument. It (some form of *rebāb*) was the other instrument – with the *bīn* – associated with the great musician Tansen. In other words, we know that the *rebāb* and the *bīn* shared the same musical sphere in the time of Akbar and that Indian musicians as well as non-Indian played it. In Illustration 6 from the *"Ṭūṭī-nāma"* we have the association of the two instruments shown pictorially.



رسید آوازی دلکش برامد حکیم ازان فرود آورد و چون نی را خبر داد و آن
روده فرو بست آوازی بهتر ازان دادن گرفت بعد ء تاری بر آن مزید
کرد و کدو نیی بر سر چوب بر آورد آلتی از آلات موسیقی شد بعد ازان
هرکسی باندازه فهم خود استخراج میکردند و استنباطی مینمودند تا کار بجای
رسید که چنگ و رباب شد

Ill. 6 The invention of musical instruments from monkey intestines, "Ṭūṭī-nāma," fol. 108v. 1560s.

The *svaramaṇḍal* (or *svaramaṇḍala* or *surmaṇḍal* or *sarmaṇḍal*), a plucked board zither, is the other instrument played by a musician from India in Abu'l Fazl's list – one Bir Mandal Khan, of Gwalior. The *svaramaṇḍal* is either a similar instrument or the same as another instrument mentioned by Abu'l Fazl – the *qānūn*, which he specifies as the specialty of one Mir 'Abdu'llah, brother of one Mir 'Abdu'l-Hay (I:681, 682). From the information given by Abu'l Fazl in the *"Ā'īn-i Akbarī,"* it appears to me that two instruments co-existed in the 16th century. Not only did he name two different players of the two different instruments, but he also remarked: "The Sarmandal is like the qanoon. It has twenty-one strings, some of steel, some of brass, and some of gut" (cited in Deva 1977:86). Abu'l Fazl, incredibly involved with detail for a historian of his tradition, did not say that the instruments were the same.

Considerable confusion exists with regard to the historical relationship between the *svaramaṇḍal* and the *qānūn*. Nomenclature suggests that the *svaramaṇḍal* is an Indian instrument, while the *qānūn* is west Asian. Historian Andrew Grieg writes that

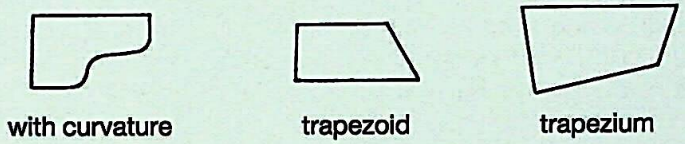
> we may infer [from its name] that the Surmandal was an instrument indigenous to India, but there are no drawings or paintings of the Surmandal to my knowledge (1987:474).

Organologist Alistair Dick considers it most likely that *"svaramaṇḍala"* was the term coined to name the *qānūn* which was introduced to India with the Muslim armies of the 13th-century Delhi Sultanate, but which was adopted and adapted by Indian musicians (Dick 1984-III:477).

Is the *svaramaṇḍal* an indigenous Indian instrument? According to Indian musicologist B.C. Deva, sculptural and other visual evidence of the existence in India of "polychords with strings in the horizontal plane, placed over box resonators" is almost non-existent (Deva 1978:146). A relationship between the *svaramaṇḍal* and an historical Indian instrument – the *mattakokila*, a type of *vīṇā* – enumerated in the 13th-century treatise *"Saṅgīta Ratnākara"* is asserted by a 15th-century author in his commentary on the *"Saṅgīta Ratnākara"*: the *svaramaṇḍala*, said Kallinatha, was the popular name for the *mattakokila* (Deva 1978:146). Deva appears uncertain; in his 1977 book, he asserts: "This psaltery seem to be the ancient *matta kokila* which later on began to be called as the *svaramandal*" (p. 86). In his 1978 book on musical instruments, however, Deva argues that the *vīṇā*-type instruments described in early literature and depicted in sculpture are harp-type instruments or plucked chordophones. Begging the question, he asks of the *mattakokila*: "Was this a box-polychord? We have no unequivocal proof ..." (Deva 1978:146).

The paintings of the 16th century cannot provide the answer to the question of the original relationship between the *svaramaṇḍal* and the *qānūn*, but they do provide some information about that type of instrument at that time. To date, I have found four paintings of the Akbari period which depict a board zither. It is clear from these paintings that the zither was used in ensembles and that it was played by both male and female musicians.

The shapes of the four instruments are diverse. Basically there are three shapes, with varying proportions and angles in the construction (Illustration 7):



Ill. 7 Shapes of board zithers

One painting depicts an instrument with one right angle complemented by curvature on the remaining sides. This can be seen in Illustration 3, fol. V4 from the *"Ḥamza Nāma:"* "Hamza Nama marries the daughter of Faridva Shah, who converts to Islam." There are three ensembles of musicians shown in this festive painting (which also includes two figures whose torsos were cut off in the process of repainting!). The entire shape of the zither cannot be seen, but the curvature is clear; see the instrument in Illustration 8, a detail of Illustration 3. Strikingly, the board zither with curvature is depicted in central Asian paintings of the same period.

Angles dominate the other two shapes of board zither depicted in the paintings. A trapezoidal (quadrilateral, of which two sides only are parallel) instrument is shown in two paintings: a *"Darab Nāma"* folio (British Museum, c. 1580) which depicts a man being entertained by women musicians; and Illustration 9 from the *"Kathasaritasāgara"* (c. 1590), "Woman Entertaining a Wood Spirit." Illustration 9 indeed shows a woman entertaining a man (with wings), seated on a platform in a tree, but of interest musically is the male ensemble serenading them from below, including a player of a board zither. Thirdly, a trapezium (quadrilateral, with no two sides parallel) is drawn in fol. 58 of a "*K͟hāmṣa* of Dihlavi" painting (1597-98) at the Walters Art Gallery.

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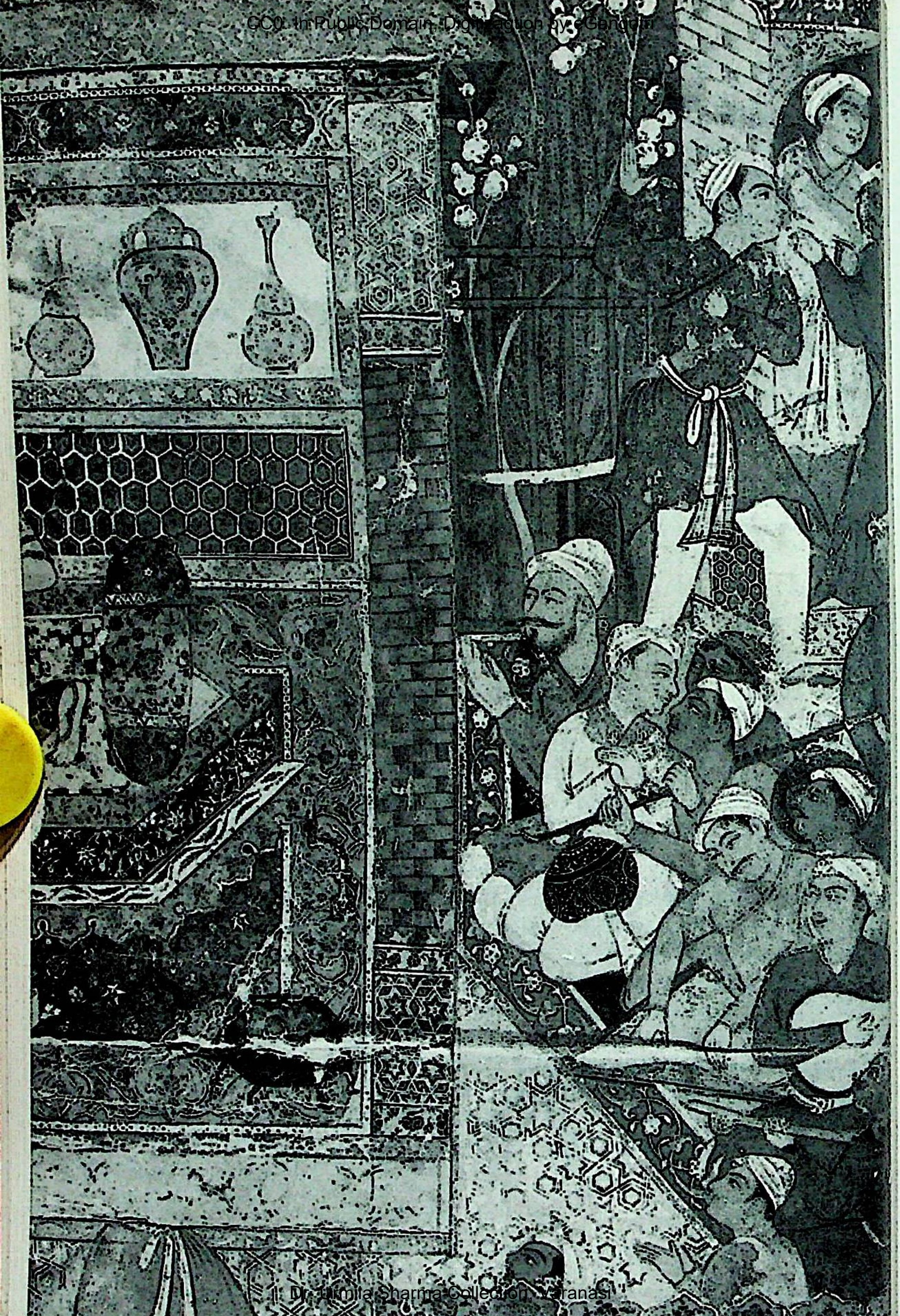


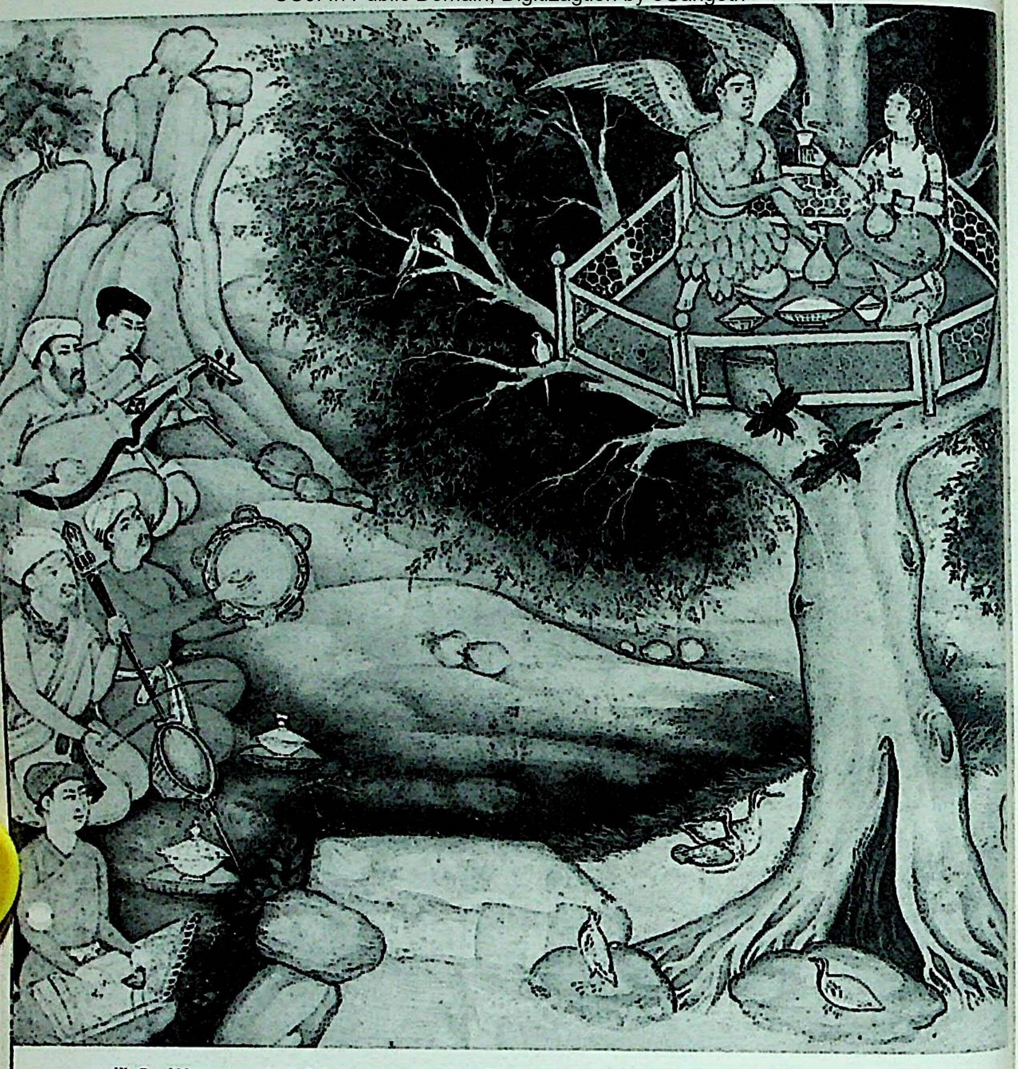
Perhaps, as Alistair Dick suggests, one imported instrument type was being adapted in India and its shape was indeed not standardized.[10] It is also possible that more than one shape had been imported through time from different western Asian areas; more research on Persian sources is needed to ascertain this. A further possibility, of course, is that the artists were simply not careful.

Another generalization which can be made about the board zithers I have found to date in Akbari period paintings is a significant one: two different playing techniques are pictured. One is similar to the technique depicted in Persian and central Asian paintings of the *qānūn* at the time: with the instrument held in the lap of the player, both hands are used for playing and presumably melody is being produced. See Illustration 3 and Illustration 8 from the *"Ḥamza Nāma."*[11] The other is the more exciting piece of evidence: a folio from the *"Darab Nāma"* (British Museum, c. 1580) shows the instrument being held upright with the left hand, and being played with only the right hand; it is possible that the instrument is being used in the manner of present-day Hindustani singers – to provide a rich pitch-texture and/or pitch referent.[12]

Without going so far as to assert it, I would suggest the possibility that use and playing technique might distinguish the two instruments as much as (or more than) construction. It is possible that the instrument being played in Persian and central Asian fashion is the *qānūn*, while the instrument being played with one hand – perhaps in drone-like fashion – is the *svaramaṇḍal.*

When inventory is made of the instruments depicted in paintings produced in the atelier of the great Mughal Akbar, some of which can be matched with documentary commentary, it is clear that the instrumentarium at his court was indeed multi-cultural. Upon close reading of paintings, we can find evidence not only of a contextual nature – such as ensemble practice which could provide the context for musical synthesis, but also evidence which can contribute to knowledge of the history of the musical use of a particular instrument such as the *svaramaṇḍal.* Information gleaned from these paintings suggests that at least in terms of instrumentarium, the Indianization of music-making in the Mughal court had not occurred in depth. The *bīn*, however, appearing as it does in ensemble with non-Indian instruments, and in both instrumental ensemble and with vocalists, as well as being assigned to the position of prestige in *durbār*, would appear to have been – with the *rebāb* – the crucial medium through which a synthesis of

Ill. 8 Hamza Nama marries the daughter of Faridva Shah, who converts to Islam, "Ḥamza Nāma," *detail of fol. V4. 1565–72.*



Ill. 9 Woman entertaining a wood spirit, "Kathasaritasāgara." *C. 1590.*

elements of music itself would occur in the hands of good Indian musicians. Conversely, if we could hear the music being played on non-Indian instruments in ensemble with the *bīn*, we might hear that the process described by Nakshabhi in the 14th century had become widespread, and the music being played on those western Asian instruments was created from the meeting of musical cultures in the court of Akbar.

Notes

[1] Cf. the central figure in Illustration 1.

[2] Compare Illustration 1 and Illustration 2 herein, for instance.

[3] The *tār* is a Persian plucked lute.

[4] The instruments are: (1) played by Indian musicians, *bīn* and *svaramaṇḍal;* (2) played by non-Indian musicians, *qānūn, na'i, ghichak, rubāb* and *ṭambūra* (all of which I have found depicted in paintings), *qūbūz* (which I have not yet found in paintings).

[5] In Illustration 1, see the musician standing within the barrier, to the right of the throne.

[6] *"Ḥamza Nāma,"* c. 1562-77 (Austrian Museum of Applied Arts) f. V4; *"Ṭūṭī-nāma,"* c. 1560-65 (Cleveland Museum) f. 105r; *"Timur Nāma,"* c. 1580-84 (Khudabaksh Library) f. 4, f. 64, and f. 90a; *"Dīvān* of Anvari," 1588 (Harvard University) f. 245r; *"Bābarnāma,"* c. 1588 (British Museum) f. 208v; (Moscow) in Tiuliaev, fig. 64; *"Kathasaritasāgara,"* c. 1590 (Los Angeles Country Museum of Art) *"Jami'-al-Tavārikh,"* c. 1596 (former Imperial Library, Tehran) *"Akbarnāma,"* 1604 (Beatty Library) f. 143b.

[7] For a discussion of the *rebāb*-type lutes, cf. Grieg (1987) and Miner (1981). Joep Bor (1986-87) comments that by the time of Akbar's grandson Shah Jahan's rule, Persian players of bowed lute instruments were slowly losing out to Indian players of the indigenous *sāraṅgī,* and "soon the ghichak would almost completely disappear from the Indian scene" (Bor 1986-87:64). *Ghichak* is still the term used for this instrument in northern Afghanistan and parts of central Asia; it is more widespread in the classical and folk traditions of the Caucasus and Central Asia than in Persian music (During, At'ayan & Spector 1984:353).

[8] *"Bābarnāma,"* Moscow; *"Ḥamza Nāma"* f. V4; *"Bābarnāma,"* f. 208v; *"Akbarnāma,"* f. 143b, respectively.

[9] Akbar tried to persuade the Mughal ladies of the harem to change for the sake of coolness to the short bodice, bare midriff and light gauzy skirts and veil of the Hindu women and gradually this central Asian style of dress does disappear from the Mughal paintings (Godden 1980:130).

[10] In a painting in the later *"Shāh Jahān Nāma"* manuscript, c. 1650-60 (Windsor Castle, f. 120v p. 238) the shape of a board zither is trapezoidal, but also has a curved edge. It is being played with both hands, along with a plucked lute, to accompany 2 singers. The pertinent detail of the folio is reproduced in Wade 1984:235.

[11] *"Khāmṣa* of Dihlavi," 1597-98. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, No. 624 fol. 58). Like the *"Ḥamza Nāma"* painting, this one pictures festivity, and includes different ensembles; the zither is paired with a *na'i.* The zither is being played with both hands; no plectrum is shown. *"Kathasaritasāgar"* (Heeramaneck Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art): The player of the zither uses both hands; his left hand appears to be holding a large plectrum.

[12] I have seen a photograph of this painting only, in the collection of the American Institute for Indian Studies, Art and Archaeology Center, AIIS 250 30, PC Neg. No. 30.40.

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Bonnie C. Wade

Die Begegnung der Musikkulturen am Hofe des Mughal-Herrschers Akbar im 16. Jahrhundert (Kurzfassung)

Am Hofe des indischen Mughal-Herrschers Akbar bot sich ein multikulturelles Umfeld und eine geistige Atmosphäre, die adäquater Ausdruck einer Zeit kulturellen Wandels war. Unter den wachsamen Augen Akbars, der der zentralasiatischen Sippe der Timuriden entstammte, vollzog sich eine Synthese indischer und nicht-indischer Traditionen. Diese fand etwa ihren Ausdruck in einer für die Mughal-Zeit typischen bildnerischen Darstellungsweise und lieferte in hunderten von Malereien fast beiläufig ikonographische Belege für musikalische Aktivitäten in verschiedenen Bereichen des Lebens am Hofe. Die Künstler integrierten als bildnerische Bestandteile Musiker und Situationen, in denen Musik gemacht wurde, wie selbstverständlich in die dargestellten Szenen. Malereien wie diese finden sich in illuminierten Handschriften zu Erzählungen, Gedichtbänden, Geschichtsabhandlungen und höfischen Chroniken.

Die Bilder stellen indische und nicht-indische Musiker dar, die Instrumente indischer und nicht-indischer Provenienz spielen. Die Darstellungen lassen den Schluß zu, daß – zumindest was das Instrumentarium anbelangt – das Musikleben am Hofe des Mughal-Herrschers zumindest nicht tiefgreifend an eine indische Musizierpraxis angeglichen worden war. Bildliche Darstellungen der Spieltechnik zweier Brettzithern in den Malereien geben Anlaß zu der Vermutung, daß sich *svaramaṇḍal* und *qānūn* damals mehr in ihrer musikalischen Funktion als in ihrer Morphologie voneinander unterschieden. Die *bīn* hingegen, das indische Musikinstrument schlechthin, war zusammen mit nicht-indischen Musikinstrumenten wie der *na'i* zu hören und erklang sowohl in rein instrumentalen als auch in gemischt vokal/instrumentalen Ensembles. Am Hof genoß die *bīn* ein hohes Ansehen, stellte jedoch – zusammen mit dem *rebāb* – das entscheidende Medium dar, durch das eine Synthese musikalischer Elemente in dem Schaffen indischer Musiker möglich wurde.

Bonnie C. Wade

La rencontre des cultures musicales à la cour du Moghol Akbar au 16e siècle (résumé)

La cour de l'empereur moghol Akbar en Inde était une mosaïque culturelle et offrait un climat propice au changement culturel. Sous le regard attentif de l'empereur (descendant des Timurides d'Asie centrale), les traditions indiennes et étrangères formèrent une synthèse dont les résultats sont, par exemple, un style de peinture moghol et, ceci presque par hasard, des centaines d'illustrations témoignant de l'activité musicale dans divers domaines de la vie des Moghols. Car pour les peintres, les musiciens et la musique avaient tout naturellement leur place dans cette imagerie destinée à illustrer les ouvrages narratifs, les livres de poésie, les récits historiques et les chroniques de la cour.

Ces illustrations représentent des musiciens, d'Inde et d'ailleurs, en train de jouer de leur instrument, indien ou non, et on est amené à constater que, tout au moins en ce qui concerne

les instruments, les activités musicales de la cour moghole n'ont pas été «indianisées» en profondeur. A partir de la représentation par ces peintures de deux techniques de jeu des cithares sur table, l'hypothèse est posée que la distinction entre le *svaramaṇḍal* et le *kanun* à cette époque se situait au niveau de la fonction musicale, plutôt que de la morphologie. Tandis que la *bîn*, un instrument purement indien qui était associé, semble-t-il, à des instrumen étrangers, comme le *na'i*, dans des ensemb instrumentaux comme dans la musique voca et jouissait d'un grand prestige à la cour, aura été – avec le *rebâb* – le média déterminant q aurait permis aux musiciens indiens de faire symbiose des éléments de la musique el même.

Allyn Miner

The *sitār*: an Overview of Change

While theories on the relationship between musical and social change differ, it is a certainty that music provides a window on the inner life of a changing society. In the history of modern north India, a series of political changes in the 18th century accompanied significant shifts in urban life-style, and these corresponded closely with the appearance of significantly new genres of performed music. Present-day mainstream music traces a more or less unbroken performance tradition to this period, and its records show us that stylistic changes corresponded to periods of larger historical interest. While there may be no simple or causal relationship, these complimentary aspects of history remain meaningfully and intriguingly intertwined. In this paper, change in modern north Indian music performance is examined from the perspective of one of its most outstanding phenomena, the *sitār*. An instrument that appeared in the 18th century, rapidly captured the popular imagination and swept to unprecedented dominance during the 19th and 20th centuries, the *sitār* practically embodies north India's changing musical tastes. Here a general overview ignores a great many details but surveys the most outstanding and mainstream changes in the instrument, its music and its performance context in reference to specific times and locations. Coverage of the 20th century period is particularly cursory here, simply because detailed documentation is a project yet to be done.

Mention of the *sitār* appears first in the *"Muraqqa'-i Dehlī,"* a Persian account of that city under the late Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah, dated around 1748. Foremost among the more than sixty musicians and court entertainers described here is Na'mat Khan, a player of the *bīn*, the most prestigious court instrument of Mughal India.[1] Na'mat Khan had a brother and a nephew who were also instrumentalists:

> His brother has an amazing skill at playing various instruments. For four hours at a time he can play various types of tunes, but his artistry is such that there is no repetition. Seeing his skill many good musicians are awestruck. God did not give this mastery and accomplishment to everyone. He is also skilled in singing … . Na'mat Khan's nephew is very expert at playing the setār. He has created various new methods. Whatever tunes are played on all the well known instruments, this man can play on the setār (D. Khan 1982:174).

A number of orally carried performance histories claim that the brother's name was Khusrau Khan (although this has not yet been confirmed from contemporary sources) and the nephew's, Firoz Khan. We find from written sources, however, that by the early 19th century, credit for the introduction of the *sitār* to Delhi had been transferred to a figure of the 14th century, the famous Amir Khusrau who was a Delhi court poet and musician. The belief that the early Khusrau was responsible for the introduction of the *sitār* still persists in popular thought.

The *setār*, "three-stringed," had existed as a member of the *tambūr* family of long-necked lutes in western and central Asia prior to the appearance of the instrument in Delhi.[2] In India, an association with Kashmir in some oral histories, and the *sitār*'s participation there in the Persian-influenced *sufiāna kalām* music (Pacholczyk 1978) indicate that a Persian or Turkish instrument of this name had entered northwest India by at least the early 18th century. It was the instrument's appearance in Delhi in the hands of Na'mat Khan's nephew, however, that marked the beginning of a phenomenal new direction in north Indian instrumental music.

Eighteenth century Delhi was a scene of political and social upheaval. The Mughal power there, which had once controlled vast territories in India and attracted the attention of the world for its wealth and splendor, was now undergoing rapid disintegration. After the death of the last powerful Mughal, Aurangzeb, unscrupulous court powers vied for control and planned murderous intrigues under a series of ineffectual puppet rulers. Territories dropped one by one out of Delhi's control. In 1719, however, an emperor came to the throne who managed to create something of a cultural revival and maintain a degree of stability with a reign that lasted twenty-nine years. Later known as "Rangīle," "the colorful" for his interest in music and dance, Emperor Muhammad Shah supported a large number of musicians in his court. It is well known in popular music history that from among his court musicians emerged the creators of the two most important developments in modern north Indian music: modern *khyāl*, the vocal genre that came to dominate north Indian music, and the *sitār*.

The *"Muraqqa'-i Dehlī"* draws for us a vivid picture not only of a thriving court scene, but of a city where large numbers of prosperous residents, eager for Delhi's literary, musical and entertainment opportunities, crowded into the performances of their favorite artists.

> [Na'mat Khan] himself organizes a party on the twelfth of each month which all the noblemen and the men of rank and all the respectable citizens of the city attend. They begin arriving in the morning of that day, and by evening the *mahfil* [gathering] is so completely filled that there remains no room even to put a seed (D. Khan 1949:66-7).

Ill. 1 A tambūr *player. Jahangir Period 1605–1625*

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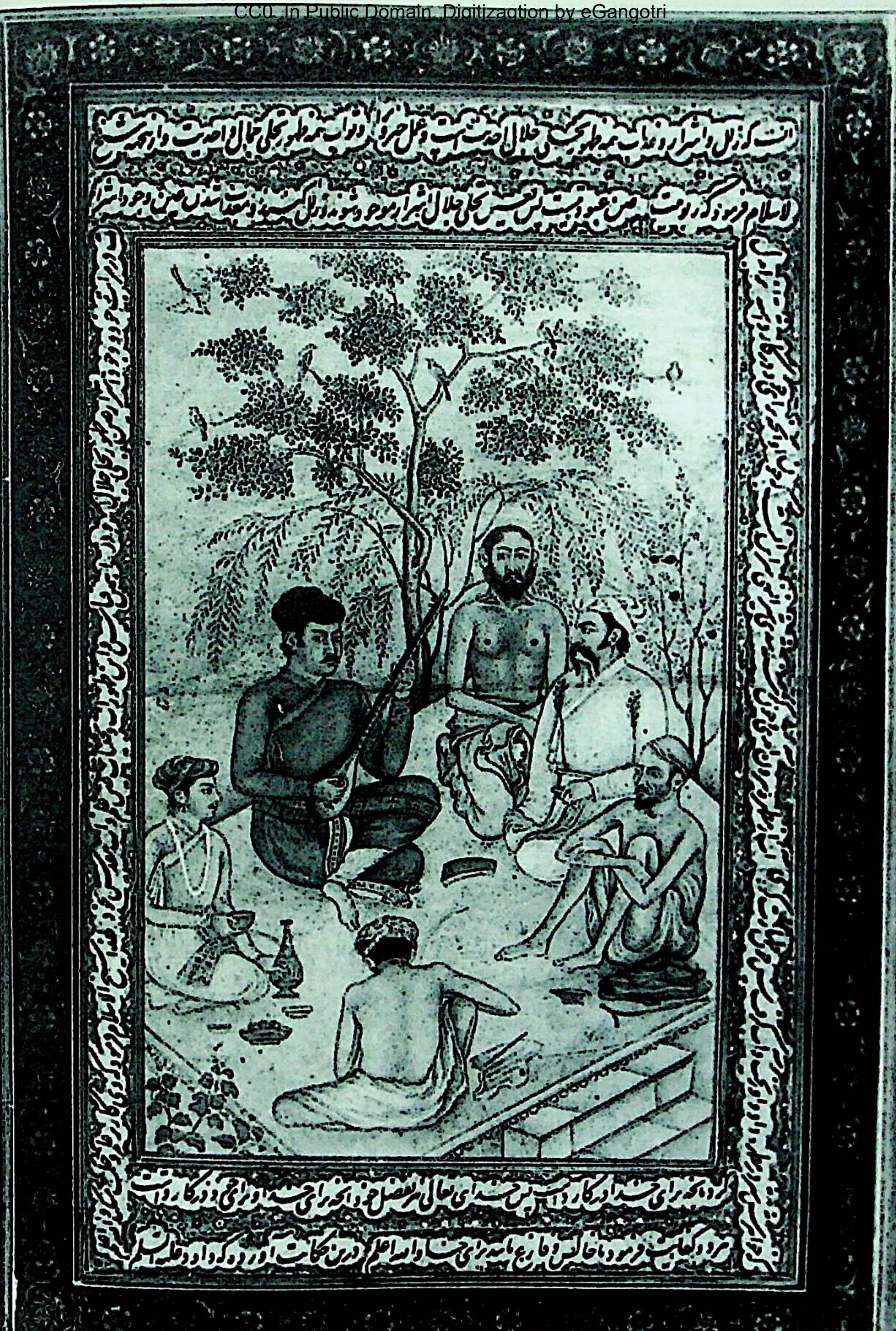


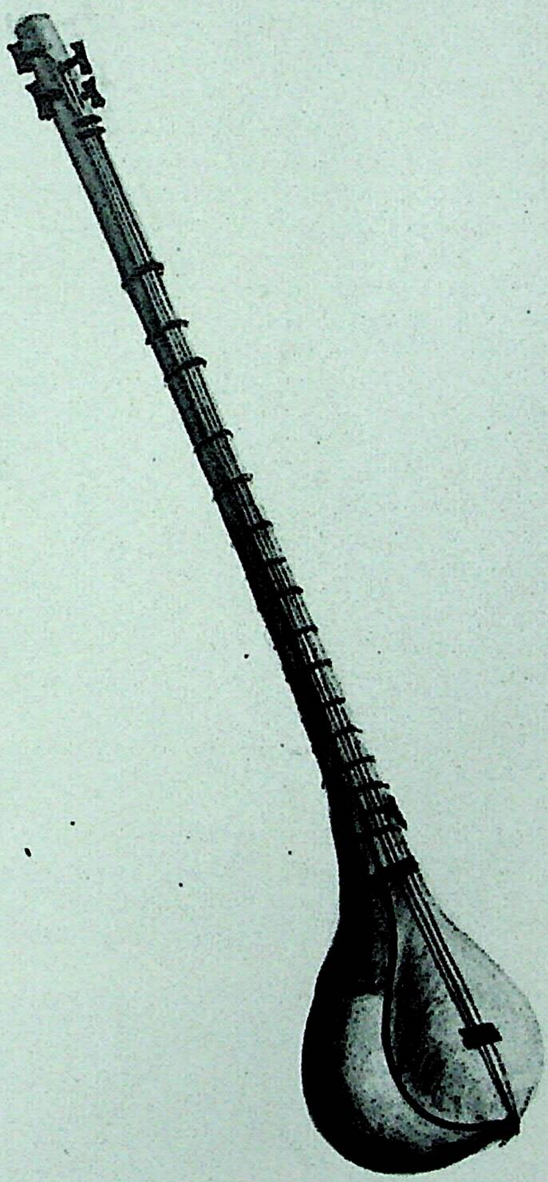
It is a scene that contrasts with our conception of the earlier Mughal period, when Delhi performances were confined to the court and its chosen elite. Na'ma Khan, besides being a *bīn* player, was the author of a new style of composition i a colorful vocal genre called *khyāl* (D. Khan 1982:173),[3] and his work seems t have been a response to an environment that encouraged synthesis and experimentation. In a generation or two the new *khyāl* would begin to dominate voca music. The *sitār* also appeared in this environment of change. The *"Muraqqa'-Dehlī"* informs us that Na'mat Khan's nephew could produce everything on th *sitār* that was possible on other instruments. It is an apt description, as the subsequent two hundred years of the *sitār*'s history show that its music was a continual synthesis of the musical forms of the changing times.

The most specific hints as to the music of the earliest *sitār* is found in performance traditions that speak of a composition called the *"Firozkhānī gat."* Firo Khan was Na'mat Khan's nephew, of whom the *"Muraqqa'-i Dehlī"* speaks. W know from written sources that he moved from Delhi to Rampur, where this styl of composition originated. It is characterized by a middle speed pace and particular jumping movements in the melody. Allowing for a great deal of intermediary influences, we might imagine that the music of Firoz Khan was a simpl instrumental exposition of *rāga* melody characterized by a lightness and livel ness.

No pictorial examples of the *sitār* itself are available for the mid-18th centur but late 18th and early 19th century examples show it to closely resemble th *tambūr*, a long lute that had been prominent in the Muslim courts of India sinc the 12th or 13th century, early in Muslim rule (Illustration 1). There must hav been some features that first distinguished the *sitār* from the *tambūr*, since bot instruments existed side by side for some time, but it is not possible to sa exactly what features characterized the earliest Delhi *sitār*. Later drawings continue to show small *sitārs* with thin *tambūr*-like necks (Illustration 2). A 179 drawing by a Belgian resident of Calcutta, F. Baltazard Solvyns, however, show a *sitār* with a somewhat widened and lengthened neck (Illustration 3). Whethe the frets were metal here and the bridge flat, later essential characteristics of th *sitār*, is not possible to tell.

After the death of Muhammad Shah, the capacity of the Delhi court to suppor musicians dwindled, and many musicians went in search of new patronage Some settled in Rampur to the east, some further east in the newly thriving cour at Lucknow, and some went westward to centers in Rajput territory. Musica

Ill. 2 Sitār. *Patna c. 182*



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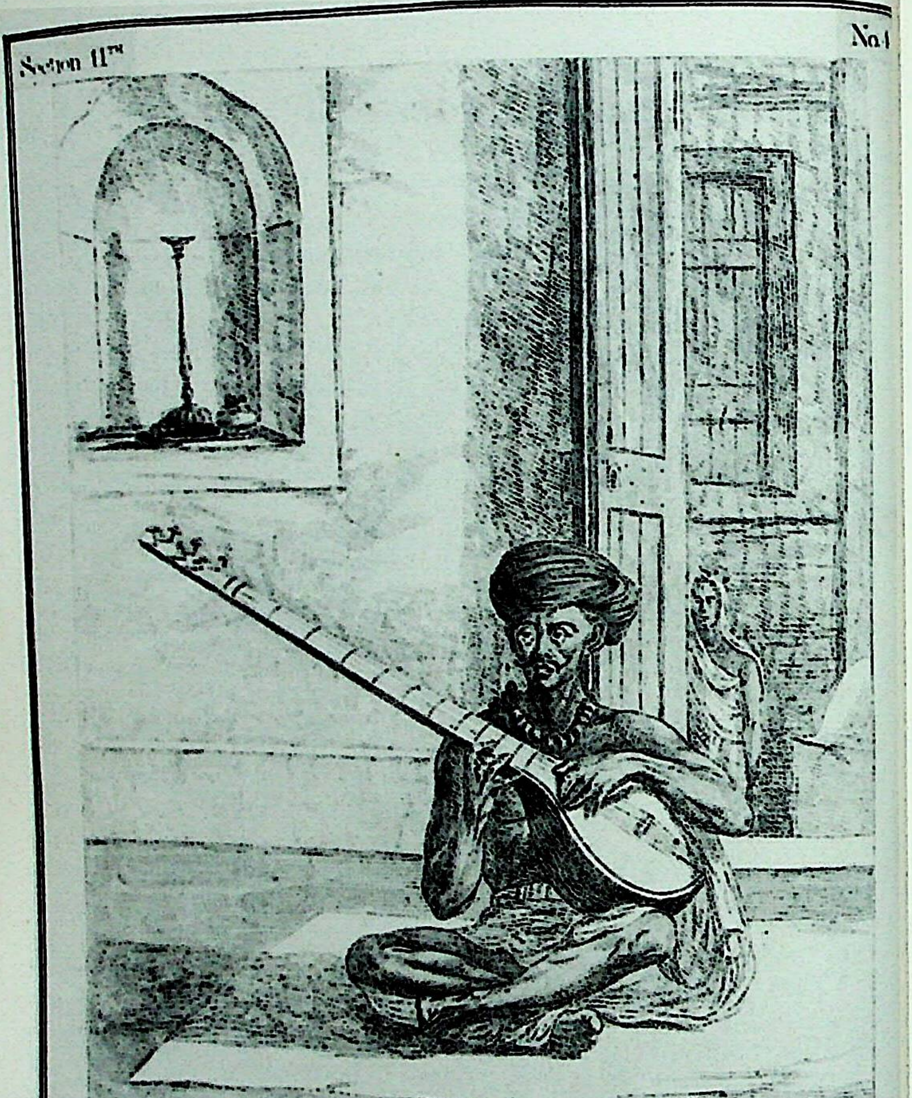
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No 1

A SITTAR.

styles, now spread to a number of centers, diversified. We know from written references that by the end of the 18th century the *sitār* also had spread across north India, from the Jaipur court of Maharaja Pratap Singh to the growing British city of Calcutta. *Sitār* now appears as a minor but definitely visible instrument. Pratap Singh describes it as a melody-playing version of the drone *tambūrā*. He seems to refer to a solo repertoire when he says it is used to "play *rāga*-s:"

> The *tambūrā* is of two types, one *nibaddh* (tied) and the other *anibaddh* (untied). On the *tambūrā* on which *raga*-s are to be played, tie wire at the note positions and play *ragas* on the tied wire. This is the *nibaddh tambūrā*, which is popularly called *sitār* (Singh 1910-II:6-7).

In some contexts the *sitār* had acquired an additional musical association by the end of the 18th century. It had begun to appear frequently as an accompaniment instrument to the *"nautch,"* a courtesan dance genre that came to form the mainstay of court entertainment through the 19th century. British visitors were frequently treated to nautch performances and one traveller, Mrs. J. Kindersley, had this to say of the musical accompaniment:

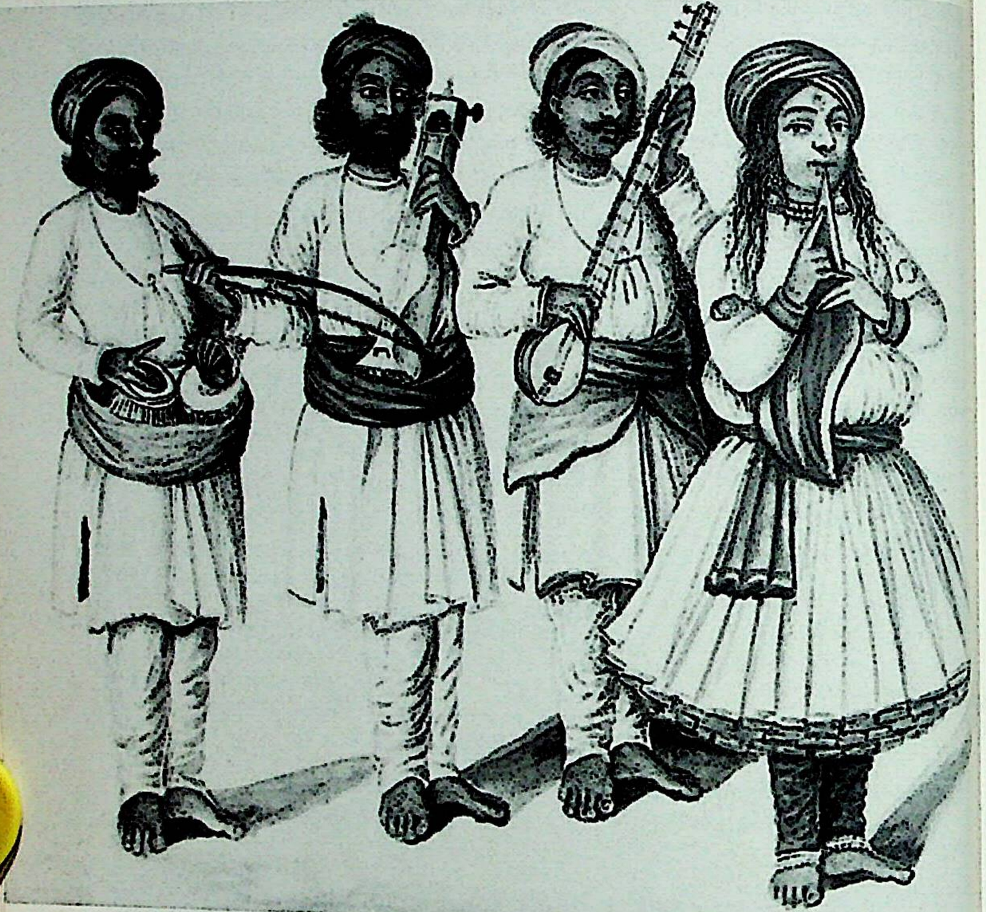
> The girl sings, while she is dancing, some Persian or Hindostan song; some of them are really pleasing to the ear, but are almost entirely drowned by the accompaniments: several black fellows stand behind, who likewise sing with all the strength of voice they are masters of, making, at the same time, the most ridiculous grimaces; some of them playing upon a *sitār*, which is something like a guitar, but greatly inferior even to that trifling instrument; but all this, loud as it is, is drowned by those who play with two pieces of bell-metal, which they work between their fingers, and make the same noise as braziers at work upon a large copper (Dyson 1978:336).

Solvyns blames the poor reputation that the *sitār* had acquired by his time on its association with *nautch*. His idea of a more glorious past reflects a view of Indian history characteristic for the time:

> The *Sittar* is now seldom used in India; perhaps the better sort of Hindoos have taken it in aversion since the *Loutchias*, or people of dissolute manners, have taken to playing it for money, and have chosen this music to accompany their obscene songs and other immoral practices. At their feasts, the *Nautch*, a dance ... is sometimes performed to the sound of the *Sittar*, and some tolerable musicians, or rather mere players upon it, may be heard (Solvyns 1808:2:n.p.).

Accompaniment to *nautch* continued as a prominent function for the *sitār* throughout the 19th century (Illustration 4), a fact usually overlooked in modern music histories. It required a concerted and long term effort on the part of solo

Ill. 3 "A Sittar." From F.B. Solvyns, A Collection ot Two Hundred and Fifty Coloured Etchings ... *Calcutta 1799.*



Ill. 4 Dancer with accompanists. Cutch 1856.

instrumentalists to disassociate the *sitār* from this role. The *sārangī*, which als accompanied *nautch*, was even more closely associated with the music of th courtesans. Not having a parallel solo or *dhrupad*-based genre, it has retaine the stigma of the association to the present day (Bor 1986-87).

The performance tradition of solo *sitār* music is traceable to the late 18th o early 19th century and to a musician named Masit Khan. Masit Khan, who trad tion says was related to Firoz Khan, is universally credited with the creation of solo form called the *gat-toḍā*, the form that soon established itself at the heart of professional *sitār* playing. His invention was a short composition, *gat*, which had a fixed pattern of plectrum strokes and a melody that changed according to the *rāga* to be performed. The *gat* and its extensions, *toḍā*-s, followed the melodic movements of *rāga*-s as known from the *dhrupad* tradition. The important turn toward the music of the *bīn* initiated the *sitār*'s rise in the world of professional court music. Although the *dhrupad* leanings of Masit Khan's work are stressed in popular accounts, it is likely that the original *gat-toḍā* was very far indeed from the austere music of the *bīn*. The terms *gat* and *toḍā* both have an earlier association with dance and/or drumming. The earliest recorded examples also indicate that its pace was considerably faster than that as we know it today.[4] The earliest notations of *sitār gat*-s in the tradition of Masit Khan are attributed to his son Bahadur Khan. The one below demonstrates the strokes and the methodical melodic development of this early style (S. Khan 1884:222).[5] The ornament "(m)" is *mīḍ*, a lateral pulling of the playing string to touch the adjacent note, and "(z)" is *zamzamā*, a trill.

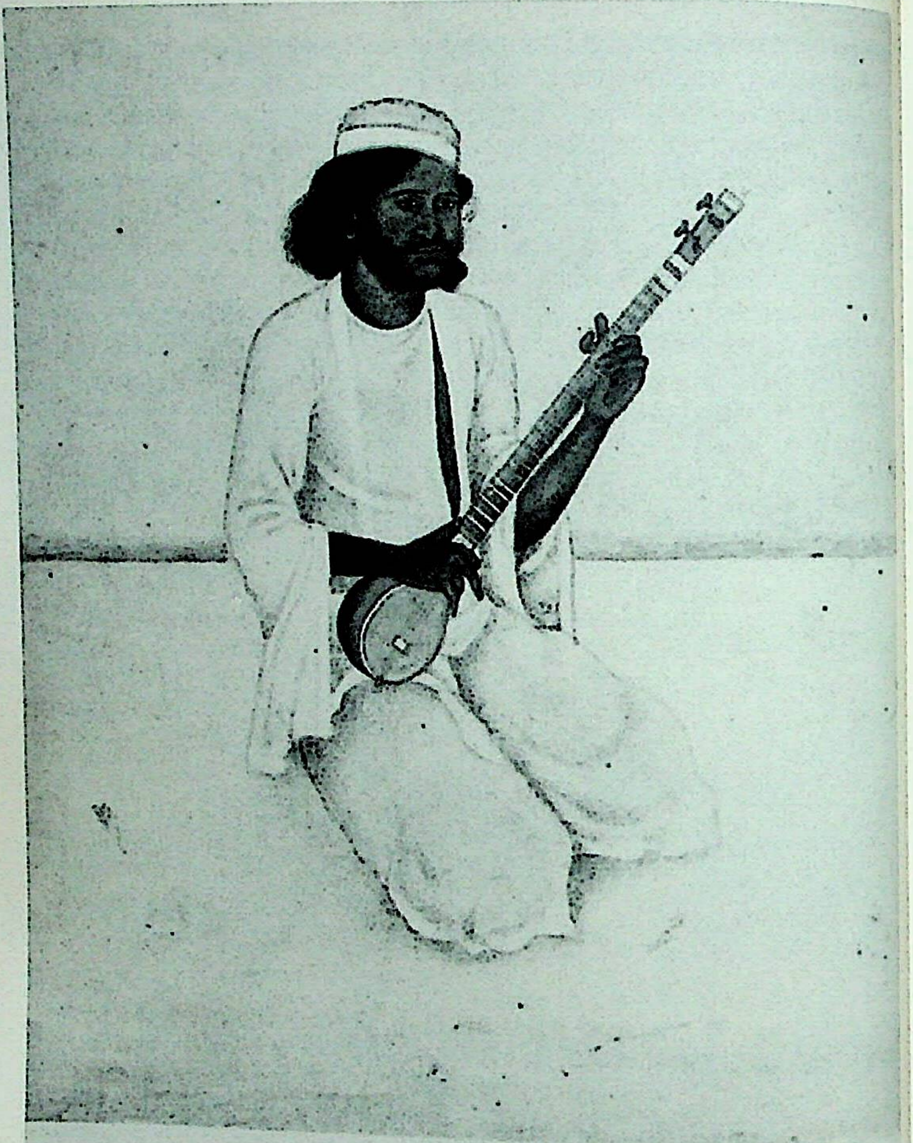
gat darbārī kānhaḍā

						x											(m)	(m)	(m)
R	|	Ṇ̲	S	Ḍ̲	P̣	|	P̣	S	S	S	|	SṆ̲	S	R	R	|	G̲	G̲	G̲
dir	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dā	rā	dir	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dā	rā
—	(z)	—				x	(m)			(m)					(m)		(m)		
G̲	|	G̲	M	P	P	|	G̲	R	S	G̲	|	R	S	Ṇ̲	G̲	|	R	S	Ṇ̲
dir	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dā	rā

toḍā

						x		—	(m)	—		(z)					(m)	(z)	
M	|	M	M	P	P	|	P	Ṡ	Ṡ	Ṡ	|	D̲	D̲	P	P	|	G̲	G̲	M
dir	|	dā	rā	dā	rā	|	dā	dā	rā	dir	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dir	dā
		(m)	(z)			x	(m)			(m)					(m)				
P	|	D̲	D̲	P	P	|	G̲	R	S	G̲	|	R	S	Ṇ̲	G̲	|	R	S	Ṇ̲
rā	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dir	dā	rā	|	dā	dā	rā

An 1824 portrait of Delhi musician Jangi Khan shows the *sitār* as it appeared around the time of Masit Khan (Illustration 5). The smallness of the instrument is



Jungee Khan

striking. One of the most essential structural features for a *sitār* that was attempting to imitate the capabilities of the *bīn* was a capacity for a lateral pulling of the playing string. The smoothly sounded movement from note to note produced by pulling is called *mīḍ*. Jangi Khan's *sitār*, although small, has its main playing string positioned toward the middle of the neck, and would have been capable of producing short *mīḍ*. It also has metal frets, an added requisite for pulling. It is clear that by the first quarter of the 19th century the basic features of the modern *sitār*, raised metal frets, placement of the string away from the left edge of the neck, a flat bridge and the use of the wire plectrum on the right forefinger, were in place.

Perhaps due to the classicizing efforts of Masit Khan, or to an increase in audience, the early 19th century saw an improvement in the *sitār*'s reputation and a definite rapid growth in visibility. Captain N. Augustus Willard writes already in 1834:

> The *Sitar* is very much admired, is used by both professional men and amateurs, and is really a very pleasing toned instrument in the hands of an expert performer (Tagore 1965:98).

Traveller Fanny Parks in a journal of 1850 also speaks admiringly of it, in contrast to her compatriot Mrs. Kindersley:

> I have received a present that pleases me greatly, a *sitār* ... an instrument in general use all over India. This one was made at Lucknow and is very beautifully put together (Parks 1850-I:250).

By the middle of the 19th century written and pictorial references to the *sitār* are numerous. A number of strings had been added to the instrument so that a *sitār* described in 1855 had five main strings and two others that "harmonize in unison with the notes produced by the progression of the fingers on the principal strings" (Fétis 1869-II:285-6). This is the earliest description of the drone strings called *cikārī*, an imitation of similar strings on the *bīn*.

A major step in *sitār* music took place in the Rajput territories to the west of Delhi in the period following Masit Khan. A political stability was maintained in these centers by a delicate compromise with the British power. In this state of relative peace, a number of prosperous Rajput rulers were able to cultivate their musical interests, and the prestigious musicians who were employed by them became symbols of state culture and pride. Rahimsen was a *sitār*ist in the

Ill. 5 Jangi Khan, sitār *player. Delhi 1815–27.*

service of the ruler of the small state of Jhajhar. He had learned from Masit Khan's nephew in Delhi. A chronicler of this family line, Sudarsanacarya Sastri, tells us that the young Rahimsen was once ridiculed by other musicians for playing the *sitār*, still an insignificant instrument, and had vowed to raise the instrument's reputation until it rivalled that of the *bīn* (Sastri 1916:62). Rahimsen and his son Amrtsen (1814-1893) who later settled in Jaipur, devoted their musical careers to building the reputation and repertoire of the *sitār*. Together they added ideas and techniques of the *bīn* into Masit Khan's *gat-toḍā*, and they also introduced an exciting new dimension, aspects of the developments in vocal *khyāl* that were taking place at the time. In the nearby state of Maratha Gwalior an outstanding figure was making a tremendous impact on vocal music. Bade Muhammad Khan was introducing very fast running movements, *tān*-s, to his *khyāl*. His followers there, the brothers Hassu and Haddu Khan became famous all over India for their spectacular *tān* work. The story is that one *tān*, the *kaḍak bijlī kī tān*, (lightening bolt *tān*) led to Hassu Khan's premature death in around 1859 (Garg 1969:422-3).

In the third quarter of the 19th century the growing railroad system began to make an impact on the lines of communication among urban centers in India. It was becoming common for musicians to tour regularly, and their trips were encouraged by their patrons, who used their best musicians as symbols of diplomatic exchange. A scene of dynamic confrontations and exchange emerges from anecdotes of the time that tell us of many colorful and competitive meetings that took place among travelling musicians. Rahimsen and Amrtsen were very much a part of this exchange. Their visibility and their adaptation of a range of genres apparently brought *sitār* music into the mainstream and even forefront of contemporary musical change. Their repertoire now included a version of *ālāp*, the detailed solo exposition of a *rāga* played on the *bīn*. They called it *joḍ* "joining" (the origin of the use of this word is obscure). They played *gat*-s in the tradition of Masit Khan, but created different styles of *gat*-s to reflect either *dhrupad* or *khyāl* ornamentation and melodic movement.[6] In their *toḍā*-s they adapted the systematic rhythmic permutations of *dhrupad* but also added the *fikra*, "twists," and *tān* work of *khyāl*, and they experimented with techniques particularly suited to the *sitār* (Sastri 1916:26-7, 62). The result was a music that gained both popularity and an increased approval of traditionalists.

Rahimsen and Amrtsen used *sitārs* that had especially wide necks, suitable for playing copious *mīḍ*. Amrtsen added not only a second, but a third gourd to his instrument and called it a *sitār-bīn*.[7] A *gat* below which is attributed to them demonstrates an increased complexity of melodic movement (Sastri 1916:73). Although it is impossible to gauge the style of these *sitār* players in any detail from notated examples, imagination guided by the descriptions of the oral tradition can direct our conceptions.

gat bhīmpalāsī

x															
P̣	PP	M	P	G̲	MM	P	P	N̲	Ṡ	Ṡ	N̲N̲	D̲	PP	M	P
ḍā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ṛā	ḍā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ṛā	ḍā	ḍā	ṛā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ḍiṛ	ḍa	ṛā

toḍā

x				Ṙ			D̲				R				
Ṇ̲	N̲N̲	G̲	Ġ̲	Ṡ	ṠṠ	N̲	P	P	M	M	SS	S	G̲G̲	M	P
ḍā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ṛā	ḍā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ṛā	ḍā	ḍā	ṛā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ḍiṛ	ḍā	ṛā

While Rahimsen'and Amrtsen were expanding the repertoire of the Delhi *gat-toḍā*, another stream of activity was taking place in the state of Avadh to the east. After the fall of Delhi, the city of Lucknow had become the site of the richest and most luxurious court in all of north India and was an attractive destination for musicians. The Lucknow rulers, Navābs, were making efforts to create a court and city environment that would overshadow even Delhi at its height. Navābī Lucknow in the first half of the 19th century became a center for music, dance, Urdū language poetry, formal etiquette, fine cloth and clothing styles and numerous other leisure items.[8] The Lucknow lifestyle set during this time became a standard in many ways for cultured north Indian urban life that has lasted to the present day. In *sitār* music, dramatic and colorful changes took place in Lucknow. At the center of the change was the encounter of traditional musicians who had arrived from Delhi with Lucknow's eager and pleasure-seeking public. A demand arose for performances of new material, and a new challenge presented itself: to teach instrumental music to enthusiastic non-family disciples. Some traditionalists who had.their background in *dhrupad* music responded by teaching the new students the popular and less secretive *sitār* instead of *bīn*. To do this they created a new style of composition. They set *rāga* melody to a lively tempo and played it with a variety of rhythms using interesting stroke combinations. It is probable that their ideas for this composition type originated with Firoz Khan in

Rampur, a city with which Lucknow had regular contact. The new style of the Lucknow instrumentalists was very different from the *gat-toḍā* of Masit Khan and it became known as the *purab bāj*, eastern style, of *sitār* playing to differentiate it from Masit Khan's *Delhi* or *paścim bāj,* western style. Below is a *purab* style *gat* from a late 19th century collection (Shivram 1901:325). "(os)" means oscillate the string; "(gh)" is *ghasīt*, a slide from one note to another pressing the fingers on the intervening frets:

purbī gat khamāj

```
                                       x
G̣    Ḍ  –Ḍ  Ṇ   |  S   Ṇ    S    –   |  R    R  –R   R   |  S   Ṇ̲   Ḍ   -
dā   dā  –r  dā  |  dā  rā   dā   –   |  dā   dā –r   dā  |  dā  rā  dā  -
——(os)——                               x                                 –(os)-
RR   RR  RR  RR  |  S   SṆ̲  –P̣   Ḍ   |  S   MM  GG   M   |  GM  –M  RR  RR
dir  dir dir dir |  dā  rdā  –r   dā  |  dā  dir dir  dā  |  rdā –r  dir dir
 –(os)–                                x - (gh) -
R    RS  –S  SS  |  Ṇ̲   Ṇ̲Ḍ  –P̣   Ḍ   |  P̣Ḍ  Ṇ̲   Ḍ    P̣   |  Ḍ   Ṃ   G̣   -
dā   rdā –r  dir |  dā  rdā  –r   dā  |  dā   –   dā   rā  |  dā  rā  dā  -
```

Besides the *purab gat*-s, serious disciples in Lucknow who had now learned from *bīn* players took to playing a detailed version of *bīn ālāp* on the *sitār*. This necessitated a *sitār* whose tonal resonance and capacity for pulling would simulate the *bīn* as nearly as possible. Thus came about the creation of a large *sitār* sometime around 1850, by *dhrupad*-trained *sitār*ist Ghulam Muhammad. The instrument was different enough to warrant a new name, *surbahār* "springtime of notes." Around the same time *tarab*, sympathetic strings, appear on the larger *sitārs*, and it is possible that Ghulam Muhammad was responsible for this innovation as well. Lucknow writer Muhammad Karam Imam compares Ghulam Muhammad's skill favorably with that of *bīn* players:

> Yes, in setār first Ghulam Muhammad, recently of Banda, attained amazing mastery and his *ṭhok* [a fast technique] was so clear and expert that I have not heard it like that from any bīnkārs or rabābias, except Umrao Khan sāhab. His setār was not inferior to bīn or rabāb … (M. K. Khan 1925:45).[9]

In the late 19th and early 20th century the *surbahār* would enjoy a degree of popularity, especially in Bengal where Ghulam Muhammad's son and grandson settled. In 1908, *sarod* player and writer Karamatullah Khan writes that in his opinion *surbahār* players are more knowledgeable than the remaining *bīn* players of the day (K. Khan 1908:168).[10] The *surbahār* finally effected the virtual eclipse of the *bīn*, a process that hardly could have been foretold for the *sitār* that appeared in Delhi only about a hundred years before (Cover).

Another development in Lucknow *sitār* playing was initiated by a musician who stands out as one of the most colorful characters in modern north Indian music history. Ghulam Raza of Rampur was a member of the *dhāḍī* class, accompanists who ranked low in the musical caste hierarchy. He makes his appearance early in the career of Wajid Ali Shah, the last Navāb of Lucknow. The leader of the Navāb's group of favorite musicians, Ghulam Raza early acquired the dubious distinction of being the leading recipient of monetary and political favors. His interference in the political life of Lucknow soon became a matter of serious contention between the Navāb and the British representative, the Resident, in Lucknow. By 1850 Colonel Sleeman had written in a report about the Navāb:

> He eats, drinks, sleeps and converses with the singers and eunuches and females alone, and the only female who has any influence over him is the sister of the chief singer Rusee-od Dowlah [Ghulām Razā], whom he calls his own sister. No member of the royal family or aristocracy of Oude is ever admitted to speak or to see his Majesty, and these contemptible singers are admitted to more equality and familiarity than his own brothers or sons ever were; they go out, too, with greater pomp than they or any of the royal family can; and are ordered to be received with more honours as they pass through the different palaces. The profligacy that exists within the palace passes all belief; and these things excite more disgust among the aristocracy of the capital than all the misrule and malversion that arise from the King's apathy and incapacity (Sleeman 1858:lxxv-vi).

At one point Ghulam Raza was appointed Deputy to the Prime Minister, to the horror of the Resident, who soon effected his dismissal. Eventually, Sleeman and his assistant convinced the Navāb of the chief musician's misconduct and persuaded him to banish Ghulam Raza, members of his family and a number of other musicians from Lucknow. After a number of vacillations, the Navāb did indeed in 1850 exile these musicians into British territory (Sleeman 1858:43-9, 104-5). Ghulam Raza settled in Patna with a great deal of his collected wealth.

Ghulam Raza is one of the most famous figures in the history of *sitār* music, known by all *sitār*ists to the present day for the composition style that he created, called after him the *razākhānī gat*. In modern usage the names *purab* and *razākhānī* have become interchangeable for any fast *gat*; however, we can gather from contemporary sources that Ghulam Raza's original style was unique. It showed little regard for the traditional rules of *rāga* melody, and connoisseur Karam Imam, for one, had little respect for it:

> And concerning the style of Ghulam Raza, I have not found anyone good at it exce Ghulam Raza himself. First of all this *bāj* is only suited for *atāīs* [the musically untraine and is unsystematic. Its *gat*-s in *titāla* are without *rāginī* and *dhun*, and are compose on the basis of *ṭhumrī*. I have found them neither complete nor well-formed. Ye Ghulam Raza had such an original style that I found it enjoyable. But the people of th *bāj* are really mad over it. It has no *ṭhok* or *jhālā* or scope for *rāga* except for one or tw *Ustāds* disapprove of this *bāj* and intelligent listeners are ashamed of it. Ghulam Ra invented this *bāj* only for the sake of the nobles of Lucknow (M.K. Khan 1925:44- Vidyarthi 1959).

Ghulam Raza's unconventional and irreverent gift to *sitār* music seems to refle his other more nefarious activities in Lucknow. In Patna after 1850 his son A Raza became well known for the *gat*-s that he composed, and within a gener ation or two, the *razākhānī* style was a standard part of the *sitār* repertoir Below is a *gat* attributed to Ali Raza from a late 19th century handbook (M. Kha 1873:109):

gat purbī jhinjhoṭī

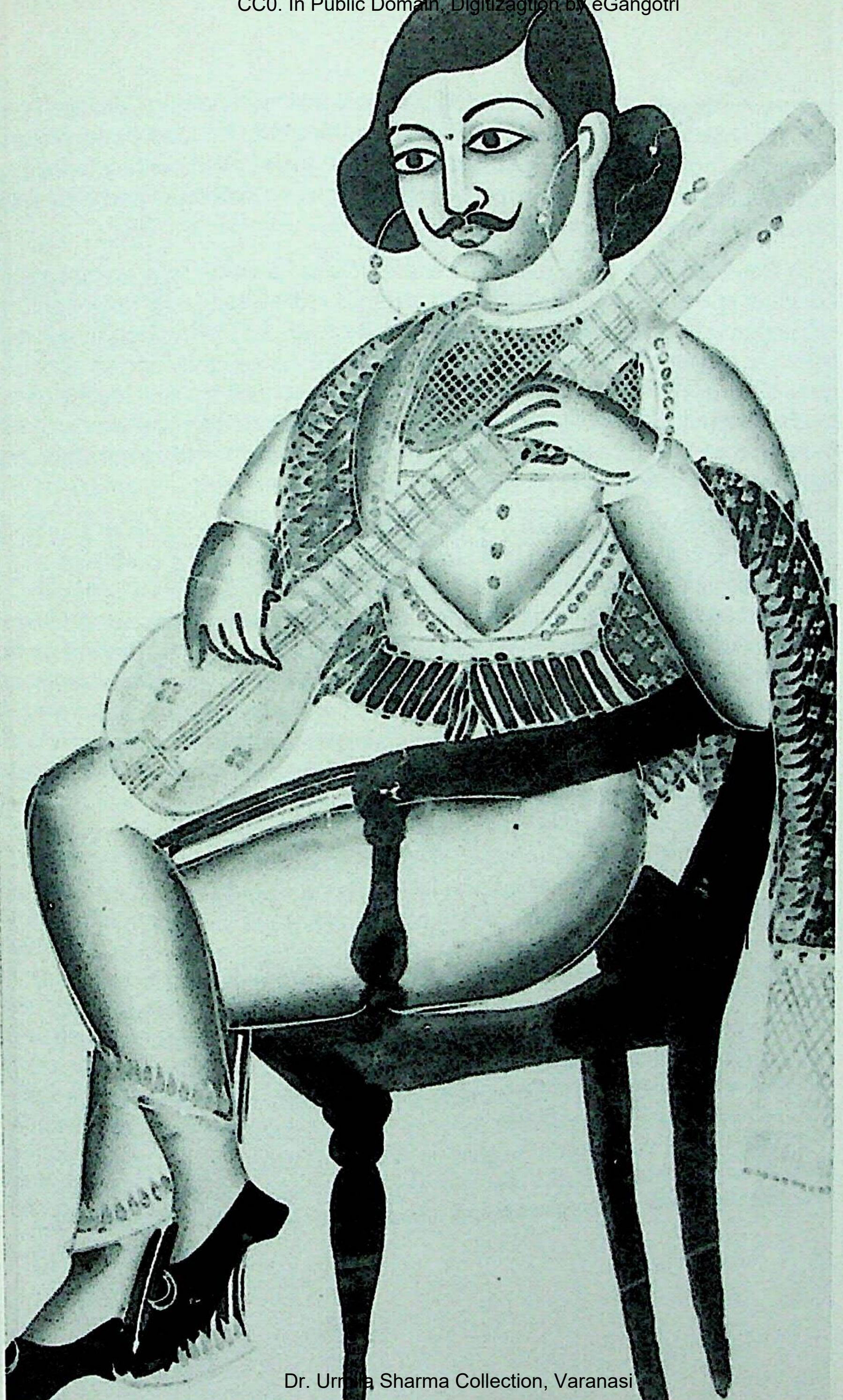
x
– MGR –R G | S – – M | –M G R – | – Ṇ –Ṇ Ṇ
– dā –r dā | dā – – dā | –r dā dā – | – dā –r dā

x
S – G – | G – G G | M – P P | M –M G S
dā – dā – | dā – dā rā | dā – dir dir | dā –r dā dā

Wajid Ali Shah was removed from his throne by the British after the viole Indian army uprising of 1857, and the Lucknow Navābī period came to a clos The subsequent period in music history saw the focus of activity shift to the ea in Bengal and especially Calcutta, and to other centers that participated in a Indian cultural and educational renaissance that took place in the late 19 century.

The impact of British educational and social institutions is clearly felt in th musical history of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. An English-educate urban population was now being urged by social reformers to rediscover the

Ill. 6 "Bengali gallant" by Becharam Das Pande. Kalighat style, Calcutta, late 19th century.



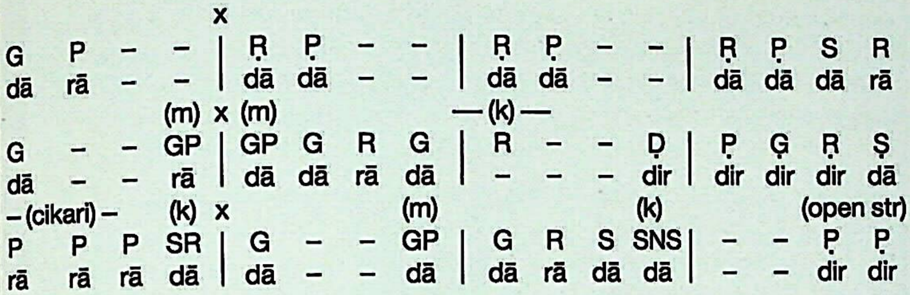
cultural history and their national pride. Professional musicians in Calcutta, Pu and Bombay received new attention from nationalistic-minded patrons and growing middle class eager for their lost culture. In late 19th century Calcutta large public was soon learning tunes on the *sitār* and harmonium and playing f pleasure in drawing room settings (Illustration 6).

Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore of an erudite Calcutta family was an outspoke educator and a prolific writer in the field of music in the last quarter of the centu His books in Bengali, Hindi and English detail his agenda for propagating Hind music as a system that equalled Western music in its antiquity and its scienti grounding. In 1871 he founded the Bengal Music School, the first institution f music learning in India. It was a place "where vocal music and some of th drawing room instruments began to be taught with the aid of books and accor ing to a system of notation" (Tagore 1963:87-8).

Tagore's textbook for the *sitār*, the *"Yantra Kshetra Dipika,"* uses an elabora notational system and presents a large number of *gats* and *toḍā*-s. The *sitā* that it describes have up to eight main strings and a full set of sympathet strings. It appears that in the dynamic environment of late 19th century Beng the *sitār* had acquired the stringing style of its fully modern form. Tagore's nota tions represent both the *Delhi* and *purab* styles, and Tagore also presents number of strange and elaborate tunes that he may have composed himse under the inspiration of Western parlor or Calcutta theater music. Below is su a composition, very foreign to the *gat* style of *sitār* music (Tagore 1879:173- "(k)" is *kṛntan*, a plucking action of the left hand:

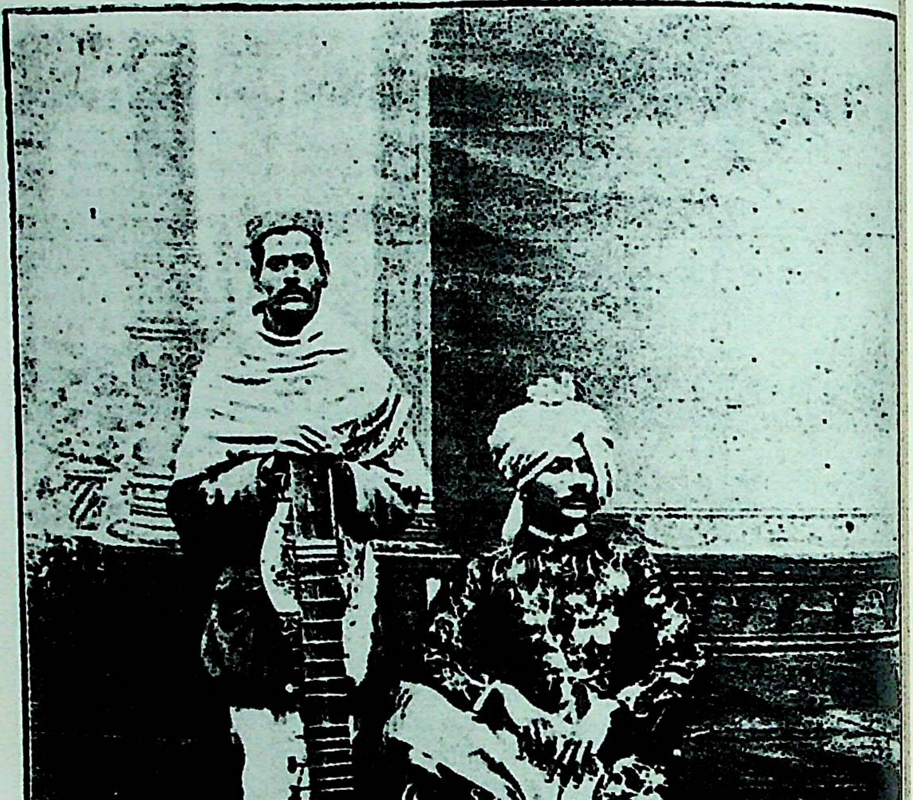
gat bhūpālī

(m)	(m)			x					(open strs)			(m)	(m)	
ṆS	ṆS	S	R	G	–	S	R	G	Ṣ	P̤	P̣	GP	GP	G
dā	dā	dā	rā	dā	–	dā	rā	dā	dā	dā	dā	dā	dā	dā
			(open str)	x (open strs)										
GR	–	Ṣ	Ṣ	R	S	S	ṆS	–	Ṣ	P̣	P̣	S	Ḍ	–
dā	–	dir	dir	dir	dā	dā	–	–	dā	dir	dir	dā	dā	–
				x										
P	R	–	–	D	S	R	G	P	R	G	P	D	S	D
dā	rā	–	–	dā	dir	dā	rā	dā	rā	dā	dir	dā	rā	dā


x
G P – – | Ṛ P̣ – – | Ṛ P̣ – – | Ṛ P̣ S R
dā rā – – | dā dā – – | dā dā – – | dā dā dā rā
(m) x (m) —(k)—
G – – GP | GP G R G | R – – Ḍ | P̣ G̣ Ṛ Ṣ
dā – – rā | dā dā rā dā | – – – dir | dir dir dir dā
– (cikari) – (k) x (m) (k) (open str)
P P P SR | G – – GP | G R S SNS | – – P̣ P̣
rā rā rā dā | dā – – dā | dā rā dā dā | – – dir dir

In the professional arena of Calcutta music a number of *dhrupad*-trained musicians from Lucknow and other centers represented an influential force, and the exhilarating environment of professional and amateur music produced a large number of new musicians and educated listeners. By the beginning of the 20th century Calcutta became the preeminent north Indian center for instrumental music, a distinction which it carries to the present day.

In Calcutta, a single individual was responsible more than any other for bringing about a surge in the popularity of the *sitār*. This was Imdad Khan, one of the most significant trendsetters of the 20th century. Born about 1848, he first trained under his father, a *sāraṅgī* player and instrumentalist, and subsequently travelled to various centers across India to continue his learning. In Indore he learned with the great *bīn* player Bande Ali Khan; in Banaras he received exposure to the light vocal genre *ṭhumrī* and to *tablā* drum playing. He settled in Calcutta under the patronage of S. M. Tagore's brother, Jatindro Mohun (Garg 1969:456-9). Imdad Khan's competence in and use of a range of modern genres, a daring sense of innovation and his skill at expanding the technical possibilities of the instrument resulted in his creation of a *sitār* style so individualistic and powerful that it set the direction for 20th century change. It is now difficult to sort out the specific elements that made up Imdad Khan's style. From family descriptions and a few early recordings we receive hints of the beginnings of the lyrical phrasings that came to characterize the playing of this family. New patterns of *toḍā*-s, especially *khyāl*-influenced *tān*-s, and new patterns of *jhālā*, the high speed culmination of fast composition performance, are known to have made up Imdad Khan's popular style. Modern scholars and performers associated with this performance line speak of a style so unique that it came to be called the *imdādkhānī bāj*, although the term is not normally used by instrumentalists outside this tradition. The *imdādkhānī* slow composition is described by one mem-



ber of this tradition as having a three-beat leading phrase instead of the normal five.[11] Imdad Khan's grandson defines the fast *imdādkhānī gat* as one having a particular stroke pattern: *dā dir dā rā – dā -r dā dā – dā rā dā rā dā rā.*[12] However, it was clearly the entire range of Imdad Khan's performance that gained him his widespread popularity. He died in 1920.

Imdad Khan's son Inayat, born in 1895, would not only carry on after his father, but would become the most famous *sitār* player India had yet known (Illustration 7, the seated person). Under the patronage of landowner Brajendra Kishore Rai Choudhuri, Inayat Khan moved from Calcutta to east Bengal where the Rai Chaudhuris had their land. There he taught a large number of students, professional and amateur, whose descendents are still numerous in Calcutta. He toured extensively, sometimes for six months out of the year, to patrons across India, and the influence of his style came to pervade the instrumental music of his own and following generations. The contribution of Inayat Khan to *sitār* playing deserves a full study in its own right. Modern performers speak of a number of specifics in regards to his style, however, and these must suffice until more detailed work is done. In general, it can be said that Inayat Khan developed on the lyricism of his father's style. He is known for having given priority to melodic beauty over the strict rules of *rāga* movement (Garg 1969:454). Melodic movements daringly imitative of sung *khyāl*, especially fast *tān*-s, make up the most famous aspect of his style. The introduction of *tihāī*-s into *sitār* music, phrases repeated three times and set into specific positions in the rhythmic cycle, is sometimes attributed to him. A number of the stylistic innovations that Inayat Khan contributed are now standard to *sitār* playing. A report of the Second All-India Music Conference of 1918 speaks of

> Inayat Khan son of the famous Imdadkhan of Indore, whose performance on the *sitār* is admirable for its speed and tone (*Report* 1918:29).

Inayat Khan died in 1938 at the early age of 43, leaving two sons aged 11 and 6. Below is a famous *gat* composed by Inayat Khan as it was adopted by *sitār*ists in Gwalior:[13]

Ill. 7 *Ustad Inayat Khan (seated). From* The Report of the Second All-India Music Conference, *1918.*

gat pīlū

x															
P	–	P	M	G̲	R	G̲G̲	MM	G̲	S	–S	RR	Ṇ	SS	G	M
dā	–	dā	rā	dā	rā	dir	dir	dā	dā	–r	dir	dā	dir	dā	rā
x															
P	–	P	M	P	DD	N̲	Ṡ	–	N̲N̲	DD	PP	M	MG̲	–G̲	R
dā	–	dā	rā	dā	dir	dā	rā	–	dir	dir	dir	dā	rda	–r	dā
x															
R	N̲N̲	D	N̲	P	DD	M	P	R	G̲G̲	RR	MM	G̲	S	–S	Ṇ
dā	dir	dā	rā	dā	dir	dā	rā	dā	dir	dir	dir	dā	dā	–r	dā
x															
P̣	Ḍ̲Ḍ̲	P	S	–Ṇ	S	Ṡ	N	Ṡ	Ṙ	N̲N̲	DD	M	N̲	–N̲	D
dā	dir	dā	dā	–r	dā	dā	rā	dā	rā	dir	dir	dā	dā	–r	dā
x															
D̲	–D̲	P	G̲	–G̲	R	G̲G̲	MM	G̲	S	–S	RR	Ṇ	SS	G	M
dā	–r	dā	dā	–r	dā	dir	dir	dā	dā	–r	dir	dā	dir	dā	rā

Although Imdad and Inayat Khan practically monopolize the popular early 20th century history of the *sitār*, a number of other *sitār*ists played important roles as well. The descendents and disciples of Amrtsen continued to specialize in the methodical Delhi *gat-toḍā* style of their predecessors. They emphasized *rāga* purity in their style, performing with intricately detailed expression. The Report of the 1918 All-India Music Conference speaks of a performance by Amrtsen's descendents:

> Then came Nihal Sen son of Amrit Sen and his nephew Fida Husain, the two great *Sitar*-players of Amrit Sen's School of Jaipur on the platform. Their style was a distinct variety, and the performers showed that the *Sitar*, as a musical instrument had immense possibilities so far as meend and ghaseet were concerned. The guts played by them in concert on the rags Bhupali and Tilak Kamod, were classic as regards the style as well as the setting (composition) (*Report* 1918:20).[14]

Another disciple of Amrtsen's, Barkatullah Khan, played only the *gat-toḍā* style of Masit Khan, excluding even *ālāp*. The 1918 Report says that his performance was "greatly appreciated for his mastery of tal and laya" (*Report* 1918:20).

Not yet visible in the public arena in the early 20th century, but training for his later debut, was one of modern Indian instrumental music's most outstanding figures, Allauddin Khan. Born in the northeast state of Tripura,[15] he studied with a long series of teachers, persevering through numerous refusals and hardships. He studied vocal music, *tablā*, violin and a number of styles and instruments including Western music with a European in Calcutta. He made his main instrument the *sarod*, which he studied under his most prestigious teacher, *dhrupad* instrumentalist Wazir Khan of Rampur, one of the last descendents of the legendary Tansen. In about 1911 he took a position as head musician in the small state of Maihar, in what is now Madhya Pradesh, where he formed a musical band and taught a huge number of students over the years (Garg 1969:443). Except for a performance tour with the dance troupe of Uday Shankar, which took him to Europe and the United States in 1935–36, and his concert performances and All India Radio recordings, he remained in Maihar until his death in 1972. It is not possible to discuss his music or his contributions in detail here, and a full study of his work is a real need in the field.[16] It must suffice to say that current instrumental performance practice reflects major changes that were instituted by Allauddin Khan. An enormous repertoire of compositional forms, a deep and original musicality and a strong control of rhythm characterized his music, many examples of which are preserved in All India Radio recordings. He is recognized for his use of an especially large number of *rāga*-s and *tāla*-s (rhythmic cycles), and for the creation of new *rāga*-s. Below is a composition in *rāga kauśī bhairav*, created by him from a combination of two *rāga*-s. It is in a characteristic lively style as he played it on the *sarod*. The strokes are my extrapolations based on standard *sitār* style:[17]

gat kauśī bhairav

									x									
N̲̣	SS	N̲̣	S	|	–	D̲̣	–D̲̣	N̲̣	|	S	–	M	–	|	–	M	–G	G
dā	dir	dā	rā	|	–	dā	–r	dā	|	dā	–	dā	–	|	–	dā	–r	dā
									x									
M	–	D̲	–	|	–	D̲PM	–M	M	|	P	–	Ṡ	–	|	–	–	–	–
dā	–	dā	–	|	–	dā	–r	dā	|	dā	–	dā	–	|	–	–	–	–
									x									
N̲	ṠṠ̲	N̲N̲	ṠṠ̲	|	N̲	D̲PM	–M	P	|	ṠṠ̲	N̲N̲	Ṡ	D̲PM	|	–M	P	GG	MM
dā	dir	dir	dir	|	dā	dā	–r	dā	|	dir	dir	dā	dā	|	–r	dā	dir	dir
									x									
G	GR̲	–R̲	S	|	–	D̲̣	–D̲̣	N̲̣	|					|				
dā	rdā	–r	dā	|	–	dā	–r	dā	|					|				

Ravi Shankar states that one of Allauddin Khan's major contributions to instrumental style was his deliberate non-specialization, that is, his regular use of a variety of composition and stylistic types. He received criticism for this from contemporaries who accused him of mixing genres, and not playing a pure *sarod* style, but he successfully broadened the range of instrumental performance (Shankar 1968:55-6). Musical expansion is a theme that has recurred at each step of the history of *sitār* music, and at each point it has taken on a revitalized meaning for each generation. Allauddin Khan's son Ali Akbar Khan and his disciple Ravi Shankar would continue the process and become the major trendsetters of the second half of the 20th century.

Through the heartland of north India, musical patronage for the singers of *khyāl* and *dhrupad* and the solo instrumentalists in the early 20th century lay in the hands of the relatively few landowners and rulers of large and small territories who happened to take a specialized interest in the subject. Patronage was not widespread. The *nautch*, however, was thriving among a larger section of the leisured class, and was shunned with horror by the growing urban middle class population educated in Victorian-tinted thinking. Singing and instrumental music in general had because of *nautch* and courtesan singing acquired a poor reputation among a large part of this population. Except for Calcutta, Bombay and Pune which were early participants in the campaign for a revival of musical respectability, urban centers were in general no havens of musical culture. Out of this environment emerged, a generation after the pioneering Tagore, a movement that took up the mission of reestablishing the status of India's musical heritage. Visnunarayan Bhatkhande, born in 1860, was a lawyer whose early interest in music was revived while he was practicing in early 20th-century Bombay. He studied all the theoretical texts on music he could find, and subsequently travelled all over India, north to south, studying and collecting huge amounts of material from well known vocalists (Garg 1969:70-3). With the presentation of a new system of musical theory reworked from earlier sources, a new simple system of notation, the publication of hundreds of vocal compositions and the founding of a number of schools of music, Bhatkhande became India's first important 20th century musicologist. Bhatkhande elicited the cooperation of like-minded thinkers and patrons and organized in 1916 the first All-India Music Conference, held under the sponsorship of the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. This conference and the three that followed it in 1918, 1919 and 1920 brought together patrons, scholars and performers to discuss theoretical problems of the music, systematize its *rāga*-s and bring music into the sphere of basic education:

> Public interest is being more and more focussed on the amelioration of the condition of our music. Indian Princes and Maharajas are cooperating in the movement by placing their resources at the disposal of the workers, thereby demonstrating not only a hope that the national expectations will be realized, but an intense desire that they should be realized and that our music should be as much a matter of mass education as the alphabet of the English language, if not more. A nation advances in proportion as education and intelligence spread among the masses. And it seems the lucky day for our Music has dawned (*Report* 1918:i-ii).

The 1918 All-India Music Conference was attended by more than a hundred invited delegates, distinguished representatives from various north Indian states. The Mahārājas of eleven states and a number of private individuals also donated funds toward the creation of a proposed National Academy of Music (*Report* 1918:1-4; appendix D, vii). Such an academy never took shape, but the large-scale conferences and schools of music and a new easily-assimilated system of theory introduced by Bhatkhande resulted in the dissemination of a very basic musical education to a larger urban public over the next couple of decades.[18] More importantly perhaps, Bhatkhande's work initiated a gradual social acceptance of music, a process that continues even to the present day. A second prominent figure who campaigned tirelessly for the social acceptance of music in the early decades of the 20th century was Visnu Digambar Paluskar, a vocalist who founded an important school of music in the Panjab and in Bombay (Garg 1969:370-4). One of his campaigns was to replace the love lyrics of many songs with devotional themes, and he carried them to an enormous public, especially in Maharashtra. His efforts and his success are remembered strongly all over India.

Despite their growing presence, the impact of the schools and the new theory system on the actual performance practice of professional instrumentalists appears to have been minimal. The fast changing world of *sitār* performance was directed by individuals who were untouched by institutional education. Despite the continuation and growth of schools and university departments of music through the 20th century, professional performers continued to emerge from the traditional system of individual instruction.[19]

The first decades of the 20th century did not see just a simple continuation of 19th century trends. Developments in transportation and communication had major effects on music. The first 120 mile section of the East Indian Railway had opened in 1854 between Calcutta and Raniganj. By 1868 links among the major cities of India were well under way, and by the beginning of the 20th century the Indian rail network was functioning on a full scale (Satow & Desmond 1980:18-9).

The mobility that the rail service permitted was in part responsible for the unprecedented visibility and widespread fame of artists such as Inayat Khan. Sound recordings began to be produced in India in the first two decades of the century. In the first years of the industry in India, *bāiji*-s, female singers from the courtesan tradition, were the most available and willing to record, and the new technology did not attract those who were accustomed to the honor of the court. Early recordings thus provided small added exposure for a limited number of professional musicians. It is telling of the exuberant character of the *sitār* and its players that they participated in some of the earliest sound recordings in India. For us these recordings are a source that brings the musical history of the 20th century to life.

There appears to be no clear evidence that the introduction of recording facilities affected the style of the first generation of instrumentalists exposed to it, into the 1930s, but dramatic improvements in sound quality, length of recording and affordability of listening equipment in the forties and especially the fifties would have notable direct effects on technique and style. In the 1940s there appeared on the concert stages and in the music circles of Bombay and Calcutta three instrumentalists who would create the new standards for north Indian instrumental style, and finally carry it to the world beyond India. *Sarod* player Ali Akbar Khan, the only son of Allauddin Khan, and Ravi Shankar (Illustration 8), disciple and son-in-law of Allauddin Khan, have since then formed two of the most potent forces Indian instrumental music has ever seen. For modern instrumentalists, performance presentation, *rāga* choice and interpretation, rhythmic patterns, techniques and interplay with the accompaniment have been permanently influenced by their work. The degree to which recording and amplification technologies and exposure to the international circuit have affected the formation of their styles are matters of great musicological interest and value. A detailed study of their musical lives will be an essential addition to the modern literature on world music. *Sitār*ist Vilayat Khan, son of the famous Inayat Khan, has had an equally formative, if somewhat less international, impact on *sitār* style in post-1950 India. The brilliant lyricism of his pulled phrasings, his hand positions on the instrument, and especially the spectacular speed of his *khyāl*-influenced *tān*-s today shape the styles of a large number of *sitār*ists who have had either direct or indirect contact with this family's teaching tradition.

Although many other instrumentalists have made important contributions to late 20th century music, the overpowering presence of the disciples of Allauddin

Ill. 8 Pandit Ravi Shankar, 1986.

Khan and those of Inayat Khan's family since the 1960s, and the marked contrast in their styles, have resulted in a virtual polarity in recent *sitār* style. Students of the current generation commonly identify themselves as belonging to one of the two stylistic leanings. It will take at least one more generation's time to determine if the polarity will continue in balance or to see which style, or what new one, emerges as prominent. If the history of the *sitār* continues on as it has, it is reasonably certain that by the time a new generation has reached maturity, one or more individuals will have created a significantly new synthesis of musical forms, and a correspondingly fascinating new music for this dynamic and successful instrument.

Notes

[1] The *bīn*, a stick zither, appeared prominently in the courts of north India after the 15th century. It became the main instrument of the *dhrupad* genre which set the classical standard for court music through the 19th century.

[2] Farmer 1978:7-8; Sachs 1968:156-7; During & Dick 1984:354.

[3] *Khyāl* existed in India as a vocal form prior to Na'mat Khan's new style of composition. The *"Muraqqa'-i Dehlī"* seems to speak of *khyāl* in two different contexts: with and without an association with Na'mat Khan. The origin of *khyāl*, like that of the *sitār*, is popularly traced back to Amir Khusrau, but its early history in India is problematic.

[4] Barkatullah Khan, *sitār*, *rāga bhūpālī*, 78 rpm recording. Matrix number unknown.

[5] All the musical examples are in the simple Bhatkhande system of modern notation, four beats grouped within in each marked division, using the Indian octave S R G M P D N. A dot above the note indicates the octave above middle; a dot below the octave below middle. An underlined note is flat. "x" is *sam*, the first beat of the sixteen beat *tīntāl* cycle. "Dā" is an inward *sitār* stroke; "rā" an outward stroke; "dir" is double in speed to "dā rā;" "r" is double the speed of "rā."

[6] Mushtaq Ali Khan, interview, Varanasi, 1979.

[7] Mushtaq Ali Khan, interview, Varanasi, 1979.

[8] For an idea of the atmosphere of 19th century Lucknow, cf. Halim 1971 and Ruswa 1970. For more on Lucknow's musical history, cf. Kippen 1988:1-26.

[9] *Rabāb* was a contemporary of the *bīn*, a fretless lute with a skin-covered body. It was the second most prominent instrument in *dhrupad* music.

[10] *Sarod* is a fretless lute with a skin-covered body, descended from the *rabāb* of Afghanistan. It is one of modern north India's most prominent instruments.

[11] D. T. Joshi, interview, Varanasi, 1978.

[12] Imrat Khan, interview, London, 1978.

[13] S. R. Mavlankar, Allahabad, private lessons 1974.

[14] Both *meend (mīḍ)* and *ghaseet (ghasīt)* are techniques associated with *bīn* playing.

[15] The date of his birth is stated to be as early as 1862 or as late as 1881 ("Great Master, Great Music Padma Vibhusan Acharya Allauddin Khan," EMI 1976; Bhattacharya 1979).

[16] Available works on Allauddin Khan include: Khan 1980; Bhattacharya 1979; Das 1975; Shankar 1968.

[17] "Great Master, Great Music Padma-Vibhushan Acharya Allauddin Khan," EMI EC LP 2757. 1976.

[18] A study of this period and its innovations is being done by Michael Rosse at the University of Pennsylvania.

[19] More successful experiments in institutional music training are presently being carried out, and there is some hope for a future in this direction. In Calcutta the privately-sponsored Sangeet Research Academy and in Bhopal a large project supported by the Madhya Pradesh State Government have shown admirable organizational and musical success.

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Allyn Miner

Die *sitār*: ihr Wandel im Überblick (Kurzfassung)

Die *sitār* begegnet in Indien zuerst in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Im Verlauf weniger Generationen errang sie eine die Instrumentalmusik Nordindiens beherrschende Stellung. Vorliegender Aufsatz gibt einen Überblick über ihren Aufstieg und ihre Anpassung an sich wandelnde Entwicklungen – eine Geschichte, die in gewisser Weise auch den historischen Hintergrund seiner Zeit spiegelt.

Nach ihrem ersten Erscheinen in dem vom Untergang schon bedrohten, aber noch florierenden späten Mughal Delhi, erreichte die *sitār* bald verschiedene Zentren ganz Indiens. Ihre Anpassungsfähigkeit an vielfältige musikalische Funktionen weist Charakteristika auf, die ihr auch heute noch eigen sind: eine überraschende Flexibilität und Neigung, die starren Grenzen zwischen den Genres zu überschreiten. Während sie einerseits Begleitinstrument der Tanzform *nautsch* war, mit der man das stigmatisierte Milieu der Kurtisanen assoziierte, nahm sie andererseits Elemente des *dhrupad* an, jener klassischsten Form höfischer Tradition. Letztere Entwicklung war es auch, die die Aufmerksamkeit angesehener Traditionalisten auf das Instrument lenkte und schließlich dazu führte, daß die *sitār* in ein musikalisches Umfeld eindrang, das seit dem 16. Jahrhundert gänzlich von der hoch angesehenen klassischen *bīn* bestimmt war.

In den kulturellen Zentren Rajputs des 19. Jahrhunderts, am verschwenderisch prächtigen Hof von Lucknow und in der intellektuell verfeinerten städtischen Kultur Kalkuttas, erweiterte sich das Repertoire der *sitār* parallel zu Neuerungen in der Vokalmusik und dem sich ändernden Volksgeschmack. Gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts hatte das Instrument bei Laien wie bei Berufsmusikern eine bis dahin unbekannte Popularität gewonnen und konnte fortan nahezu als Symbol eines nationalen und kulturellen Wiedererwachens angesehen werden.

Im 20. Jahrhundert gelang es der *sitār*, sich erfolgreich den Technologie- und Kommunikationsentwicklungen anzupassen. Ihre Fähigkeit, tiefgreifende Wandlungen in stilistischer und technischer Hinsicht mit jeder folgenden Generation mitzuvollziehen, begründete die Fortdauer ihrer Lebenskraft. Der Internationalismus der sechziger und folgenden Jahre brachte der *sitār* den Ruf eines Instruments von Weltrang ein und offenbarte die überraschende Kraft seiner dynamischen Musik.

Allyn Miner

Le *sitâr* et son évolution (résumé)

Apparu en Inde au milieu du 18e siècle dans le Delhi en déclin, mais exubérant, des derniers Moghols, le *sitâr* est devenu en quelques générations l'instrument pratiquement prédominant de la musique instrumentale en Inde du Nord. L'ascension de cet instrument et son adaptation à des tendances changeantes, qui sont examinées ici, illustrent par certains côtés l'histoire en général.

De Delhi, il fit très vite la conquête d'autres centres dans toute l'Inde. Son adaptation rapide à un certain nombre de fonctions musicales différentes est révélatrice de traits caractéristiques qui garderont toujours leur validité : une souplesse étonnante et une tendance à transcender les limites rigides des genres musicaux. A un extrême, le *sitâr* accompagnait la *«nautch»*, un genre de danse de mauvaise réputation en raison de son association aux courtisanes. A l'autre extrême, on retrouve dans sa musique certains éléments du *dhrupad*, le style le plus classique de la musique de cour, ce qui attira l'attention des traditionalistes respectés sur l'instrument et lui ouvrit peut-être l'accès à une sphère musicale dont la prestigieuse *bîn* classique avait l'exclusivité depuis le 16e siècle.

Au 19e siècle, dans les centres culturels des Râjput, à la cour bigarrée de Lakhnau et dans les milieux citadins raffinés de Calcutta, le répertoire du *sitâr* gagna du terrain en même temps que les innovations dans la musique vocale et suivant les goûts changeants du peuple. Vers la fin du 19e siècle, l'instrument avait acquis une popularité sans précédent, chez les musiciens de métier comme chez les amateurs, et il était devenu pour ainsi dire un symbole de la résurrection culturelle nationale.

Au 20e siècle, le *sitâr* a réussi à s'adapter au progrès technique et au développement des communications. Il doit sa vitalité à sa faculté d'assimilation de styles et de techniques nouvelles, changeant au fil des générations. Le développement fulgurant des communications à l'échelle planétaire depuis les années 1960 a fait du *sitâr* un instrument mondialement connu, et révélé l'énergie étonnante et le dynamisme de sa musique.

Karine Schomer

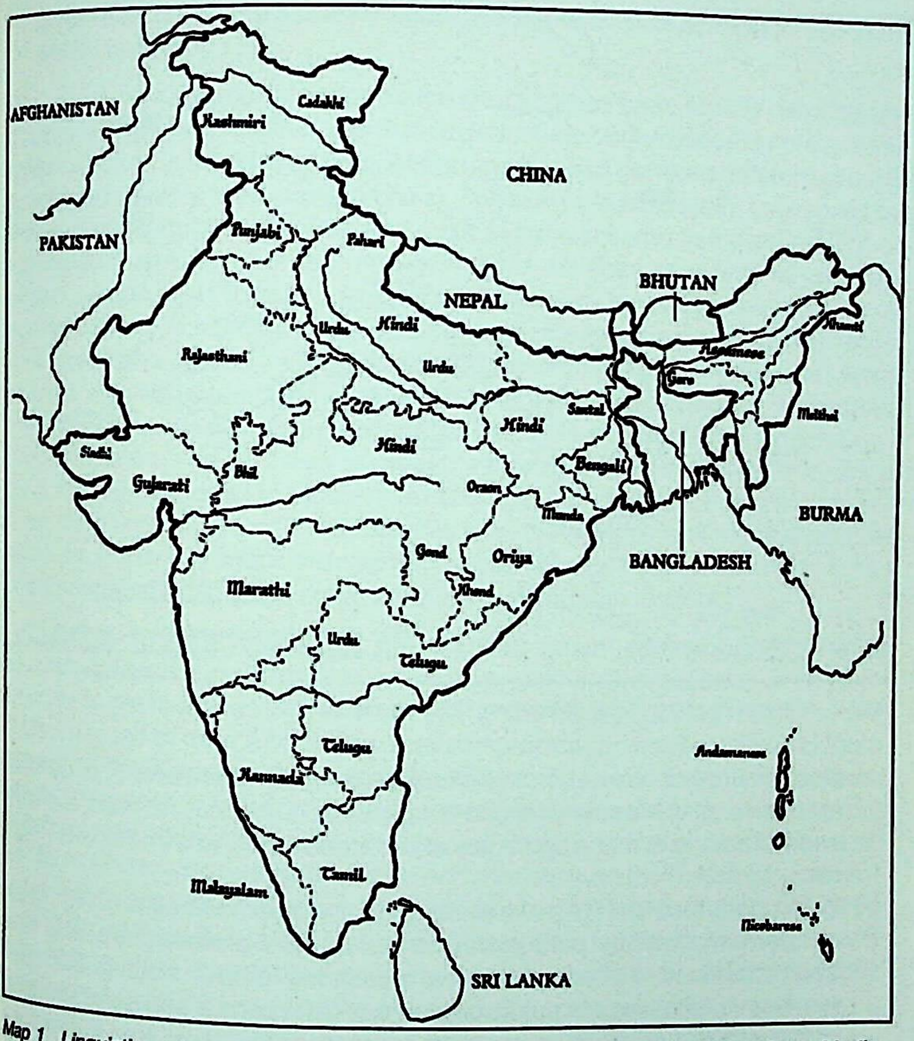
The *"Ālhā"* Epic in Contemporary Performance[1]

The *"Ālhā"* is the most popular and widespread heroic epic cycle of the Hindi-speaking area of north India.[2] Originating in Bundelkhand, the area just south of the Yamuna and Chambal rivers with whose history it is most directly connected, it is especially popular there and in the central Doab area between the Ganga and Yamuna rivers, where much of the action also takes place. However, it is found in and "belongs" to a greater or lesser extent to all the sub-regions of the large "Hindi heartland" zone covering the present-day states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana and Bihar (cf. Map 1).

The *"Ālhā"* recounts the intertwined fates of the three principal Rajput kingdoms of north India on the eve of the Turkish conquest (late 12th century A.D.): Delhi, Kanauj and Mahoba (cf. Map 2). Delhi at the time was in the hands of the Chauhan clan and ruled by King Prithviraj; Kanauj was ruled by the Gaharvar (or, according to some traditions, Rathor) King Jaichand, and the ruler of Mahoba was the Chandel king Paramardideva (Parmal in the epic). The heroes of the epic are the brothers Alha and Udal, retainers of Parmal, whose cause is the protection of Mahoba and defense of its honor.

The narrative is a cycle of episodes in which the heroes confront opponents and enemies of Mahoba or the fathers of girls they want to marry. There are said to be 52 episodes, though the actual number is not fixed, and new episodes are being created even today.[3] The principal enemy is Prithviraj, whose attacks on Mahoba result in major confrontations. The climax of the epic is a great battle between Mahoba and the forces of Prithviraj, which results in the total annihilation of the Chandels and so weakens Prithviraj that he is unable to resist subsequent attacks by the Turks.

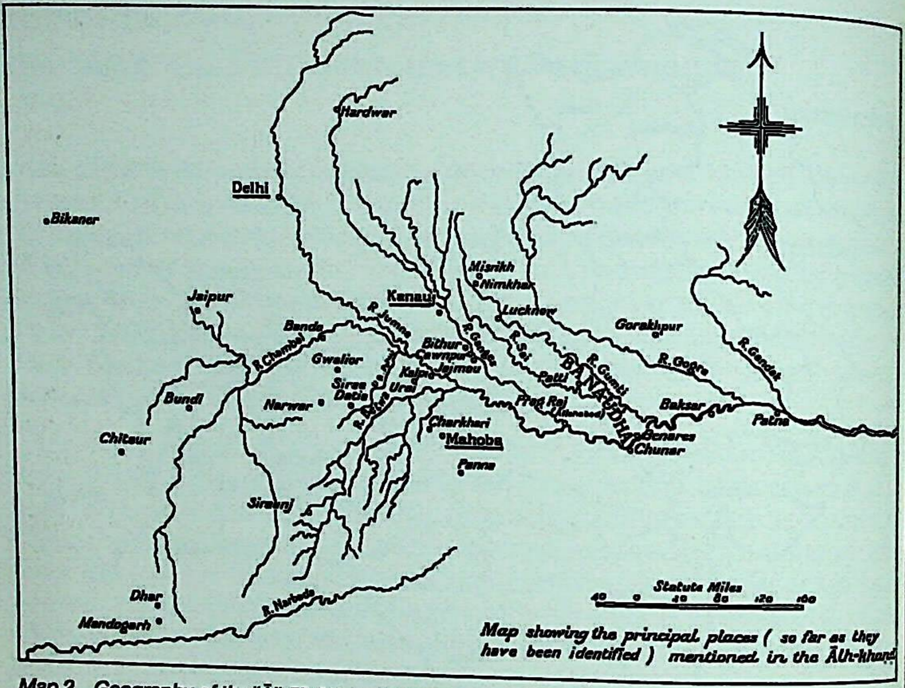
The *"Ālhā"* is traditionally performed during the monsoon season, when agricultural work is at a standstill and the rainy weather forces people to remain close to home. Performances take place at night, out in the open. A performance traditionally consists of a single episode, referred to as a *laṛāī* ("battle"). A *laṛāī* can last from less than an hour to the whole night (or can even be extended over several nights), and is a self-contained unit. There is no tradition of performing a sequence of episodes, or the whole story of the *"Ālhā"*, over a certain number of days.


AFGHANISTAN
Ladakhi
Kashmiri
CHINA
PAKISTAN
Punjabi
Pahari
BHUTAN
NEPAL
Khamti
Assamese
Urdu
Hindi
Rajasthani
Urdu
Garo
Meithei
Santal
Hindi
Sindhi
Hindi
Bengali
Gujarati
Bhil
Oraon
Munda
BURMA
Gond
Oriya
BANGLADESH
Marathi
Khond
Urdu
Telugu
Telugu
Andamanese
Kannada
Tamil
Malayalam
Nicobarese
SRI LANKA

Map 1 Linguistic regions of India, showing Hindi-speaking area (from The Living Arts of India: Indian Fairs and Festivals, *Smithsonian Institution 1986, p. 11)*

There are three traditional performance situations:

(1) Informal performances by non-professionals for self-entertainment, unrelated to the context of any larger event. Typically such performances take


Hardwar
Delhi
Bikaner
Jaipur
Kanauj
Misrikh
Nimkhar
Lucknow
Gorakhpur
R. Gandak
R. Gogra
R. Gumti
R. Sai
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
Banda
R. Chambal
Gwalior
Bithur
Cawnpur
Jajmau
Kalpi
Urai
Sirsa
Datia
Narwar
Bundi
Chitaur
Charkhari
Mahoba
Panna
Prag Raj (Allahabad)
Patti
BANAUDHA
Baksar
Patna
Benares
Chunar
Siraunj
Dhar
Mandogarh
R. Narbada
Statute Miles
40 0 40 80 120 160

Map showing the principal places (so far as they have been identified) mentioned in the Ālh-khand

Map 2 Geography of the "Ālhā" (Waterfield 1923: frontispiece)

place in front of homes, on the *chaupāls* or open verandahs of houses, on rooftops and, in the cities, around lamp-posts. Audiences, all male, are small and intimate, and made up largely of extended family and immediate neighbors.

(2) Public performances for a whole village or neighborhood community. These are performances by paid professionals or semi-professionals who have been specifically invited and receive a cash fee for their singing. Such performances take place in public places, often the central square where most of the village's public business is transacted, or the open area in front of a temple. Audiences, consisting of males from all the local castes, vary in size depending on the size of the community and on the reputation of the singer.

(3) Performances at certain regional *melās* (fairs). Though these *melās* are multi-purpose cultural, religious and economic events whose main focus is something other than the *"Ālhā"*, their location has some legendary connection with the *"Ālhā"* story. The audiences for such performances, still all male, are

larger and come from a fairly wide geographical radius, though still from within the region.

In recent times, a fourth performance situation has been rapidly developing, especially in towns and cities. It is the modern stage performance before a mass audience, often in the form of competition (*pratiyogitā*) between different groups of singers (primarily semi-professionals). These events are usually sponsored by middle-class cultural organizers and institutions interested in the promotion of regional folk arts. The broader social motives of these sponsors range from cultural preservation to cultivating pride in the Hindi language, the creation of regional identity, the promotion of tourism, and inspiring boys and young men to work for social progress. At the instance of these sponsors, money is raised from the local elite to help with arrangements and provide cash awards to the best singers. Inspired by the economic incentive and the prospect of broader recognition, singers come to these competitions from different sub-regions. As a result, they are exposed to different traditions and performance styles. Furthermore, the mixed nature of the audiences (city-dwellers as well as rural people) forces the singers to adapt their performances so as to hold the attention of listeners accustomed to the quicker pace of modern urban culture.

In addition to performances in these entertainment contexts, the *"Ālhā"* is used nowadays by government, political parties and even sales promotion agencies to get their messages across to the rural masses of north India (Parmar 1975). This use of the *"Ālhā"* as a mass communication medium involves both sponsoring traditional performances in order to attract a crowd and commissioning recitations in *"Ālhā"* style on new themes or subjects. Historically, it is not an entirely new phenomenon. In a village near Kanauj, for instance, there was an old *"Ālhā"* singer who received awards and medals from the British government for his role in accompanying army recruitment teams to the villages during the Second World War. Recitation of the *"Ālhā"* was also used by Indian nationalists to inspire courage and dedication in the Independence movement, and labor leaders have used it to instill enthusiasm at trade union meetings.[4]

Variation in Performance Styles

Although the *"Ālhā"* is known and sung throughout the Hindi heartland, it is not a uniform tradition. In each cultural sub-region, there are different types of performers, somewhat different patronage patterns, audiences and occasions for performance, certain favorite episodes, considerable variation in plot line and detail, some variation in linguistic texture and, most noticeable of all, a distinctive performance style. Performance styles may even vary within a region, with different guru-disciple traditions (referred to as *akhāṛā*) popularizing particular melodies, kinds of instrumental accompaniment and styles of delivery.

In every cultural sub-region, people refer to "the typical *'Ālhā'* tune" and "typical *'Ālhā'* drumming," which can easily be recognized even from afar. But there is in fact no typical tune or drumming pattern used throughout the Hindi area. The variety of tunes to which the *"Ālhā"* is sung is very large, some traditional to given regions and others more specifically linked to certain gurus and their *akhāṛās*.[5] Drum patterns which accompany the singing also differ from place to place and from tradition to tradition. Thus what audiences in one region consider to be "typical" melody and rhythm may sound quite strange to audiences in another.

Instrumentation is also far from standard, and the same is true of the composition of an *"Ālhā"* performing group. Basic accompanying instruments everywhere are *ḍholak* (two-headed drum) and *manjirā* (small brass cymbals) – the most universal of north Indian folk instruments – but there can be additional instruments as well. In Bundelkhand, the basic pattern is for one man to sing alone while playing *ḍholak*, accompanied by another man on *manjirā*. In the Kanauj region and Baiswara (the Avadhi-speaking region east of Kanauj), by contrast, the *"Ālhā"* is performed by an ensemble: a main singer (or sometimes two), one to five accompanying singers (called *suraiyā*), a *ḍholak* player (the singers do not play *ḍholak* in this tradition), a *manjirā* player and, optionally, one or more players of additional rhythm instruments. These instruments include *kartāl* (wooden clappers), *chimtā* (iron fire tongs with small metal clappers attached up and down each side), and *gaj* or *jhīk* (an elephant prod which is struck with another piece of metal). As one moves further towards the west, a *sārangī*-like bowed string instrument called the *chikārā* is used to provide a melodic phrase between the lines of verse.[6] Among performers who play for present-day urban audiences, harmoniums may be added, and a famous singer of the Baiswara area has popularized the use of Western clarinet as well.[7]

Regional traditions also differ in attention to costume and props, and in their vocabulary of gesture and facial expression. In the traditions of Baiswara and Kanauj, and in the Bhojpuri area around Banaras as well, the main singer will

Ill. 1 Manjirā *player accompanying* "Ālhā" *singing, Karela, Uttar Pradesh, 1983*

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Dr. Ur

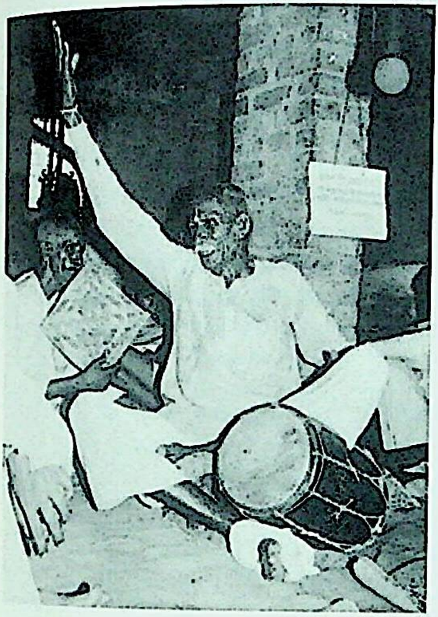
often have a sword that he brandishes to punctuate his singing. In the Kanauj-Baiswara region, some kind of costuming that suggests the Rajput warrior is also expected of the main singer – usually little more than a colored turban and a sash tied around the waist. In Bundelkhand, on the other hand, any kind of costuming or physical prop is considered superfluous. Because the Bundelkhand singer plays his own *ḍholak*, moreover, his arm and hand gestures are more limited than those of singers who perform in ensembles. His facial expressions, however, are much more varied and subtle. By contrast, singers in regions with ensemble traditions are constantly gesticulating and, not being tied down by the *ḍholak*, are free to stand up and make movements that involve their whole bodies. Facial expressions, however, are relatively undeveloped in these traditions.

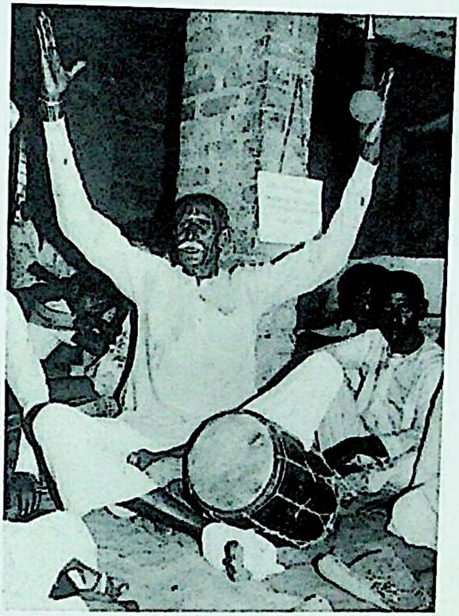
These differences in instrumentation, costume, props, gesture and facial expression are part of an overall difference in musical and dramatic style. The traditions that favor complex instrumentation and expansiveness of gesture (Kanauj, Baiswara, the Bhojpuri region) stress action and excitement rather than emotional subtlety. Poetically, there is little digression from delivery in the standard *ālhā* meter (cf. Chart IV, below), and rhythmically there is a steady, driving beat. In Bundelkhand, by contrast, what is expected is a much greater emphasis on narrative detail and emotional expression. This is accomplished by subordinating rhythm to the demands of narrative, and bringing in a great variety of poetic material in meters other than the *ālhā* meter.

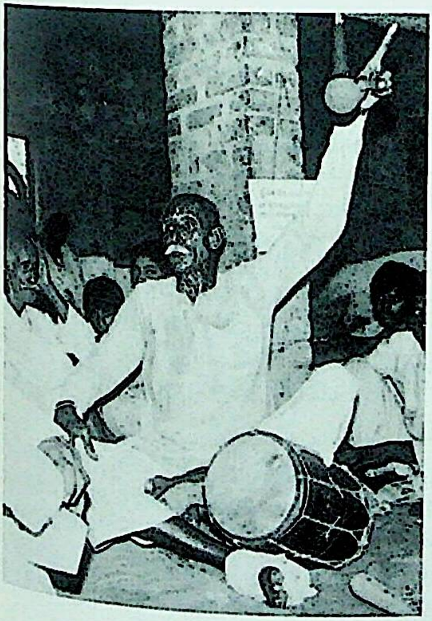
Two *"Ālhā"* Performances: A Comparison

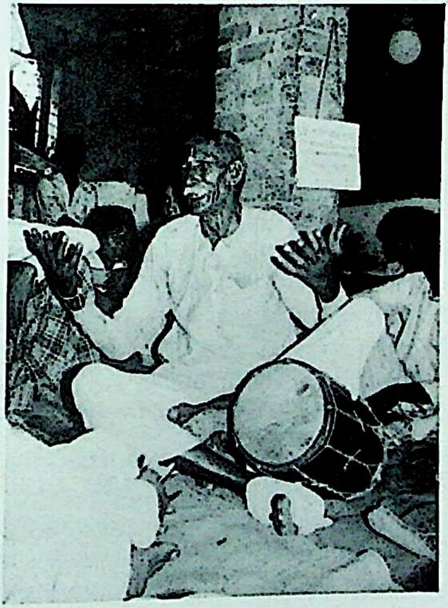
To illustrate the extent of variation in contemporary *"Ālhā"* performance, two performances recorded in the course of my field research will be analyzed here. The first took place on August 25, 1979, in a semi-rural, semi-urban settlement on the outskirts of Kanauj. Patrons for the performance were a professor of Hindi from the local college and a doctor in the local government hospital, both leaders of the middle-class intelligentsia of the town. A year before, a new district magistrate had been appointed to the area who was also enthusiastic about regional folk culture, and the *"Ālhā"* in particular. Together, these three men had mobilized the cultural elite of the town to sponsor what has since become an annual

Ill. 2–5 Bundelkhand style of solo "Ālhā" *performance. Singer: Parasram Sharma, Kharela, Uttar Pradesh, 1983*









tradition: a large-scale *"Ālhā"* competition, to which *"Ālhā"* singers come from the district, the greater Kanauj region, Baiswara, and beyond. The first competition had just taken place, with about 20 *"Ālhā"* teams performing. Afterwards, several local people had asked singers to stay on a few days and perform in more intimate settings.

The man performing on August 25, Swami Gangeshvaranand, had once been a primary school teacher and was now a full-time religious teacher *(swāmī)*. The *"Ālhā"* had been his hobby for over 30 years. He did not belong to a traditional *akhāṛā* of *"Ālhā"* singing, but had learned in an eclectic, modern way by hearing a variety of other people sing and by studying printed versions of the *"Ālhā"* of the sort sold in popular book stalls.

The setting for the performance was the open courtyard in front of the Hindi professor's home. The majority of the audience of about 150 people were local laborers, herdsmen, agriculturalists, artisans and servants – the kind of people who have traditionally listened to *"Ālhā"* performances. Because of the sponsorship of the event, however, there were several of the town's middle-class gentry, seated to the rear on wooden chairs. The performance was formally introduced by the doctor, and Gangeshvaranand had been given careful instructions as to how long to sing (an hour and a half) and what to do: start the episode by putting it in the context of the overall story line, end it with a brief statement about himself and, most important of all, stick to the *"Ālhā"* story line without bringing in any extraneous material. It was thus a fairly controlled performance of the type urban middle-class audiences are comfortable with, and one could perceive in the rest of the audience a certain reserve and sense of constraint because of this.

Gangeshvaranand sat on a wooden armchair. To his left, seated on the ground, were two assistant singers. To his right also seated on the ground, were the *ḍholak* accompanist, a man playing *manjirā* and a third man playing *gaj*. The episode he sang was one of the Kanauj favorites, *"Nadī Betavā kī laṛāī"* ("The Battle of the River Betava"), the story of the heroes' confrontation with King Prithviraj on the banks of the river Betava.

The second performance took place in August 1983, in Kharela, a village of several thousand in northern Bundelkhand. Only an hour's journey by bus from Mahoba, and thus in the heartland of the *"Ālhā"* tradition, Kharela has long been famous for the excellence of its *"Ālhā"* singing. One of the greatest *"Ālhā"* singers of Bundelkhand, the late Shivram Singh, was from Kharela. He was the guru of an *akhāṛā* that has popularized a particular tune throughout Bundelkhand and also developed a "literary" mode of performance in which the regular composition-in-performance is supplemented by memorized verses from various medieval literary texts in which the *"Ālhā"* story is found.[8]

Once a year, right after the *melā* held at the time of the Bhujariyan Festival[9] on the shore of Mahoba's Kiratsagar lake, Shivram Singh's disciples gather in Kharela to honor the memory of their guru. The gathering lasts three to four days, during which time the disciples are the guests of Shivram Singh's oldest son, Uttam Singh, who bears all the expenses of their stay. The disciples perform daily, primarily for themselves, though anyone from the village is welcome to come and listen. The occasion is one in which, surrounded by fellow-singers who can listen critically, each man can test the limits of his ability to compose and embellish. There is no mass audience with limited attention span, nor any cultural organizer dictating when the performance should stop. As a result, each singer is free to take as long as he wants. Following a custom that began while Shivram Singh was still alive, a single episode is chosen and, with the disciples spelling each other off, that one episode is developed in the greatest of descriptive and emotional detail over the entire period of the gathering.

The gathering in 1983 lasted three days (August 27-29). Each day, towards late afternoon, all six disciples present that year (Chhote Singh, Bir Singh, Bisvanath Singh, Sultan Singh, Ram Bharosa, and Parasram) would come together in an old cowshed near the farmhouse and start singing, picking up where they had left off the previous day. The singing would continue for seven or eight hours, with listeners quietly drifting in and out and occasional breaks to smoke *bīṛīs* (rolled tobacco-leaf cigarettes). In accordance with the Bundelkhand style of performance, the lead singer sat on the ground and played the *ḍholak* himself, while another man played *manjirā*. While each man sang, the other disciples all sat around him, paying close attention, encouraging him with expressions of approval such as *"Wāh! wāh!,"* prompting him if he misremembered a memorized verse, and frequently chiming in on the last word of an especially well composed line.

The episode chosen that year was *"Bhujariyoṅ kī laṛāī"* ("The Battle of the Bhujariyan Festival"), the story of the great battle that once took place on the shore of Mahoba's Kiratsagar lake during that festival, when Alha and Udal, temporarily exiled in Kanauj by King Parmal, came back to save Mahoba. Besides being the favorite episode in Bundelkhand, *"Bhujariyoṅ kī laṛāī"* is also the specialty of Shivram Singh's *akhāṛā*.

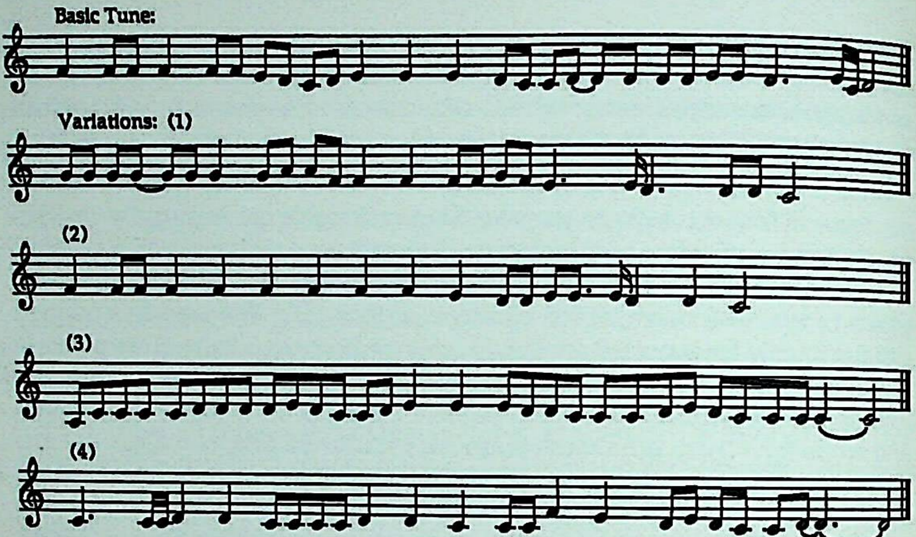


Chart I Melodic structure of "Ālhā" performance by Swami Gangeshvaranand. Kanauj, Uttar Pradesh

Melodically, the two performances were very different (cf. Charts I and II).[10] The range of the Kharela melody remained constricted throughout, within the interval of a fourth. By contrast, the Kanauj melody used range as a technique for variation: the basic tune held to the interval of a fourth, as did variations 2 and 4, while variations 1 and 3 extended the total range to another octave (cf. Chart I); indeed, it was the difference in range from the basic tune which initiated the variations, thereby calling attention to them. The scales of the two melodies were also markedly different, with chromaticism distinguishing the Kharela melody, creating a poignant and haunting effect. The tunes shared a generally descending melodic contour, but the Kharela melodic lines consistently came to rest on one clear ending pitch, while the Kanauj melody drew on two ending pitches, thereby creating a sense of open-endedness contrasting with closure.

There was also a difference in the pattern of the variations. In Gangeshvaranand's style, based on repetitive use of the *ālhā* meter, the variations were fixed, distinct and limited to four. The first (I-1), used at stopping or turning points in the narrative, extended the range upward and even began with a contrast-producing ascending interval. The descent to the end of the line was thereby stretched over the interval of a sixth, and ended not on the ending pitch of the basic tune, but on the second pitch the singer used as a resting point. The second variation

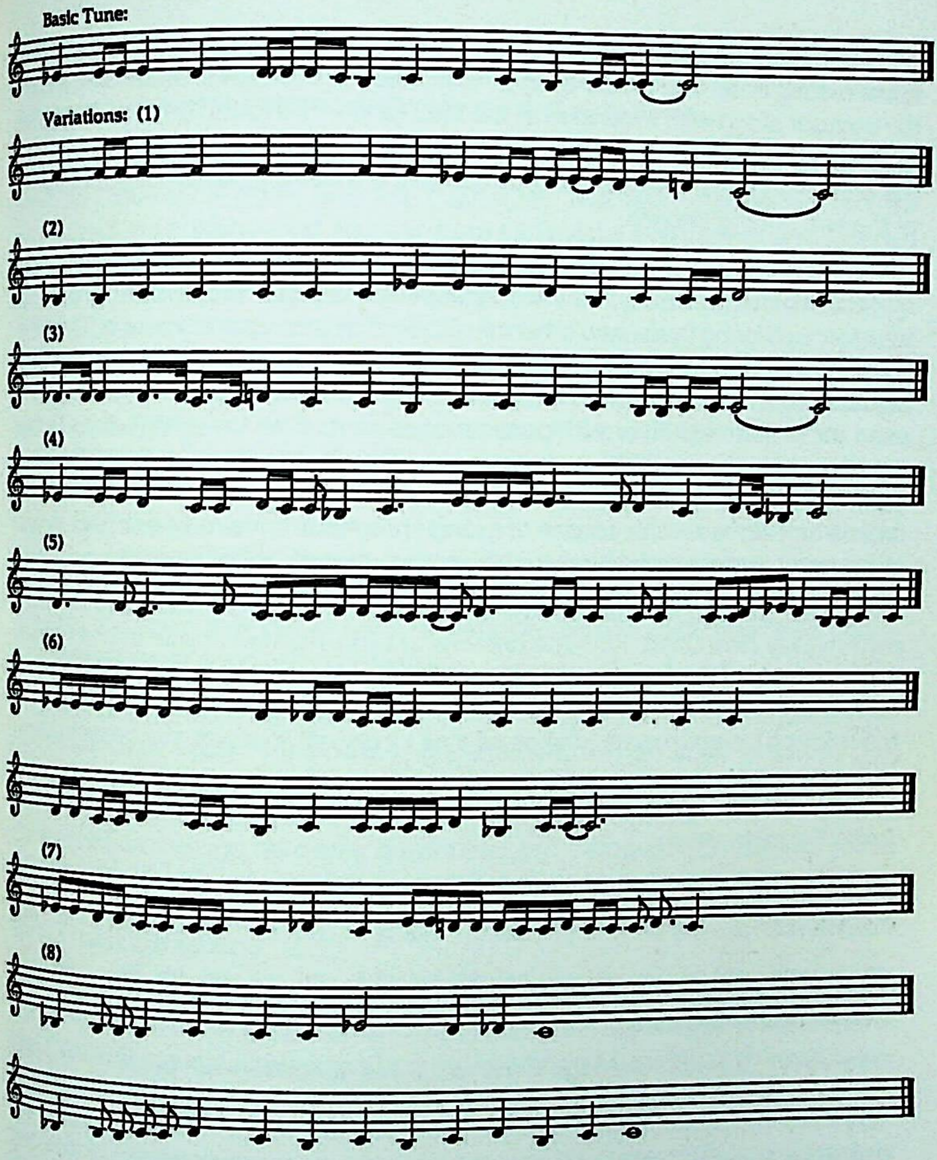

Basic Tune:
Variations: (1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)
(6)
(7)
(8)

Chart II Melodic structure of "Ālhā" performance by Shivram Singh disciples. Kharela, Uttar Pradesh

(I-2) simplified the basic tune when it was sung at double speed, and used the lower resting note. The third (I-3) again exploited the contrast of ascending melodic contour along with extension of the total range. The fourth (I-4) was used for recitative chanting which focused on the two most important structural pitches, the line ending with a version of the ending of the basic tune, circling the higher of the two ending pitches.

In the Kharela style, which is more recitative-like and uses a number of poetic meters besides the *ālhā*, the variations were more numerous and somewhat free-form, differing from each other in subtle rather than dramatic ways. Thus the basic descending tune was occasionally picked up one note higher (II-1), or from below (II-2), or moved down the scale in a slightly different way (II-3, II-4). When used for recitative (II-5) or with poetic meters other than the *ālhā* (II-6, II-7), the tune was adjusted to fit the verbal material. One frequent and striking variation (II-8), used to mark breaks and transitions, stretched out the melody, both in the middle and at the end, by means of a long chromatic embellishment. This is one of the most distinctive features of the Kharela style of *"Ālhā"* singing.

Besides differing melodically, the two performances were also quite different rhythmically (see Chart III).[11] The underlying *tāl* or rhythmic cycle in both cases was a version of the 8-beat *kaharvā* common to much north Indian folk music. In neither style, however, was it the standard classical *kaharvā*, with its stress on the first and seventh beats (*dhā ge nā ti nā ka dhī nā*). Instead, the beats in Gan-

Swami Gangeshvaranand

line of verse e— ka bāta yā tum se kahiyata, Chauṅṛā mā-no kuhīya hamār
manjirā beats tā tika tā tika tā tika tā tika tā tika tā tika tā tika
ḍholak beats dhā ge -- ke nā ka dhī nā dhā ge -- ke nā ka dhī nā

Shivram Singh's disciples

line of verse rās––tā rvākā vagh Ū- dal ke, jā-e na pā-vai Ma––ho- bā gāṅv
manjirā beats tika ti nā nā tika ti nā nā tika ti nā nā tika ti nā nā
ḍholak beats ––– ––– ––– ––– ––– ––– ––– teginānā
teginānā trikadhīnānā trikadhīnānā, dhīnādhīnā dhīdhīnānā, nātriknātrik nādhīnānā, dhātriktriktrikdhā–– dhātriktriktrikdhā–– dhātriktriktrik dhā––

Chart III Rhythmic structure of two "Ālhā" *performances compared* geshvaranand's performance were a syncopated *dhā ge – ke nā ka dhī nā*, with the stress on the first and fourth beats. The Kharela rhythmic cycle was *te gi nā nā te gi nā nā*, with the stress on the second and sixth beats.

In Gangeshvaranand's performance, the *ḍholak* player did little more than play the basic cycle (*ṭhek*) over and over again, maintaining an unbroken beat throughout the performance, four cycles of *kaharvā* for every line of verse (or two when singing in double time). The *manjirā* and *gaj* backed it up by a steady parallel beat of their own: *tā tika tā tika tā tika tā tika*. In the Kharela performance, by contrast, the singer did not play the *ṭhek* while he was singing the line of verse. Instead, his drumming would pick up as he came to the last syllable of the verse and go through several cycles as an interlude or flourish between lines. His lines were not sung entirely without rhythmic stress, however. Especially in the case of lines in *ālhā* meter, the *ṭhek* was played intermittently in the background by the *manjirā* (*tika ti nā nā tika ti nā nā*), or simply felt in the regular stresses of the recitation. Drumming therefore served differing purposes in the two performances. For Gangeshvaranand, it kept the beat, while for the Kharela singers, it served as dramatic backup and punctuation. Consequently, the Kharela singers played not only the basic *ṭhek* but all sorts of variations as well, including *tihāīs* (threefold repetitions of concluding phrases).

One final difference between the two styles was in the matter of speed. Both performances began very slowly and eventually built up to an extremely fast speed of delivery (a characteristic of all *"Ālhā"* singing). In Gangeshvaranand's style, the acceleration was a steady forward movement, proceeding without differentiation through narrative, description and dialogue, regardless of mood or meaning. The Kharela singing, by contrast, sped up or slowed down depending on the verbal content of the singing, using speed as yet another method of emotional underscoring.

Because the two performing groups were differently constituted, there were also differences in the vocal element and in the sound of the musical accompaniment. Both Gangeshvaranand and the Kharela singers had the harsh vocal quality and clear articulation of words characteristic of all *"Ālhā"* singing. But whereas the Kharela singers sang alone, Gangeshvaranand was backed up vocally by his two accompanying singers and, from time to time, the *manjirā* and *gaj* players as well. The way they accompanied him was by coming in at the end of lines, singing the last syllable with him and then continuing to sing the syllable *ā-ā-ā* on the highest of the two ending pitches for two or more rhythmic cycles.

This can be seen in the following example, where Lakhan, the young prince of Kanauj, swears to defeat the forces of Delhi. Words in parentheses are sung or spoken by accompanying singers, rhythmic beats are marked by "x".

au karī pratigyā ham Kanauj se
(ā-ā-ā-ā-ā-)
x x x x x x x x

aba mārau bīni bīni Chauhā-na
(bīni bīni Chauhā-na ā-ā-ā-ā-ā-ā-ā)
x x x x x x x x x x x x

jitane āye haiṅ gaṛha Dillīya se
x x x x

so bina ghāva e-ka na jāy
(ghāva e-ka na jāya ā-ā-ā-ā-ā-ā-ā-ā)
x x x x x x x x x x x x

I have sworn by Kanauj:
I'll pluck the Chauhan forces and kill them one by one!
Of all the men who have come from the fort of Delhi,
not a single one will return unwounded!

This drone-like vocal accompaniment continued only as long as the singing was relatively slow; when Gangeshvaranand's singing became rapid, the accompanying voices dropped out altogether, as in the following lines, where Lakhan insults king Prithviraj's general, Chaunra, as not being a worthy opponent:

sunaho dulāreya Chauṅṛā e baxasī
x x x x
munsīya suno e Āgarea kyār
x x x x
tumarīya hamarīya nā sarabata hai
x x x x
tuma chaṛhavay Piṭhaurā kyār
x x x x x x x x x x x x

Listen Chaunra, you darling tax-collector,
listen, you clerk of Agra!
You're no proper match for me :
you're just a hireling of Prithviraj!

In the solo performance of Kharela, there were no accompanying singers at all, but the performance context generated a secondary voice element of a much less regular nature. At points in the performance, especially when there was a particularly excellent or well-known line, singers sitting in the front row of the audience would spontaneously join the performer on the last word, shouting it aloud with great enthusiasm. There were also many interjections of *"wāh! wāh!"* and other expressions of approval, as well as leading questions and prompts. This can be seen in the following excerpt, in which Udal argues with king Jaichand, who has refused to let the heroes go on grounds that they owe him for all the hospitality he gave them in exile. *Manjirā* beats, which come between the phrases of sung text, are marked by dots.

itanī charchā chālī jab Jaychanda ne
. . . .
taba hvāṅ bvālat hai Desarāja kau lāl
. . . .
(wāh!)
(mālik)
ek ek gehūṅ kā maiṅ nav nav daihoṅ
au tum kāṅ ghī kā daihoṅ chaugunā dām
. . . .
jitanā pānī piyo hai maiṅne torī Gangā kā
. . .
(wāh!)
au utane kāṭoṅ dūdha ke dām
. .
(bahut sundar!)
to pāī pāī āpa nṛpa kara lījai bhukatā-ā-na
. .
(wāhwāh!)
au koṛī nahīṅ chhoṛiye mālika dayā nidhān
(nidhān)

When Jaichand had said this much,
then the son of Dasraj [Udal] spoke:
(Wah!)
("Master. . .")
"For every grain of wheat I'll give you nine,
and I'll pay four times the price of your ghee.
For all the water of your Ganga I have drunk,
(Wah!)
charge me the price of milk.
(Very beautiful!)

Down to the very last penny, prepare the settlement.
(Wahwah!)
Don't miss a single cowrie, O master, abode of mercy!"

In Gangeshvaranand's less intimate performance context, this element of the texture was largely absent.

In general, the voices of the Kharela singers expressed a greater emotional range than did Gangeshvaranand's. Not only was Gangeshvaranand tied to a rigid rhythm that made modulation of the voice almost impossible, but his style of *"Ālhā"* singing was one that emphasized above all the heroic mood or *rasa*. Throughout the performance, therefore, even in passages dealing with other emotions, his tone of voice was declamatory and belligerent. The Kharela style, on the other hand, was one that emphasized the words more than the rhythm, and attached equal importance to the whole range of moods present in the *"Ālhā"* story.

This difference in emotional range was also visible in the repertoires of gesture and facial expression. Gangeshvaranand sat on his armchair in a kingly pose – back straight, head held high, feet firmly planted on the ground, hands on his thighs and elbows turned outward – looking down at both his accompanists and his audience. The expression on his face was at all times stern and purposeful, conveying courage, strength and determination. As the performance progressed, this expression became more intense, tinged at times by the emotion of righteous anger or by sheer excitement in the heat of battle. He would sneer, roll his eyes, furrow his brow and make his nostrils flare – all facial expressions associated with the heroic mood. His gestures, all energetic and forceful, consisted primarily of raising one arm or the other as if brandishing a weapon, threatening to hit someone, making a proclamation or showing defiance. Occasionally, for greater effect, he would rise from his armchair/throne and pace back and forth in front of the audience, gesticulating as he sang.

The body language and facial expressions of the Kharela singers were more subdued and less histrionic. They sat on the ground, on a level with and closely surrounded by their listeners. The left leg was tucked underneath and the *ḍholak* rested on the upturned sole of the left foot; the right leg, slung over the trunk of the *ḍholak*, held it firmly in place (Illustrations 2-5). This position was a relaxed one that freed the hands to either play the *ḍholak* or make gestures, gave the torso flexibility, but prevented any movement away from where the singer was seated.

Since the Kharela style did not involve continuous playing of the *ḍholak*, but used it as an interlude between lines, the singers continually used their hands, arms and upper body to help dramatize the words they were singing. The vocabulary of gestures at their command was considerable. In addition to the kinds of belligerent gestures used by Gangeshvaranand, they also had gestures such as hands folded in entreaty, palms cupped to receive a gift, arms stretched out to embrace, a hand raised to the forehead in salute, the back of the fingers wiping away tears, a hand raised in the traditional gesture of blessing, fingers brought close together to express the idea of smallness, and so forth and so on.

All these gestures, though somewhat stylized, were based on those used in everyday communication, and were a direct extension of the emotions conveyed by the facial expressions. These too portrayed a broader range of feeling than was the case in Gangeshvaranand's style. The emotional expressiveness was especially apparent in passages of the story that were filled with pathos, when the facial expressions of sorrow and the gestures of pity would combine with a sob-like break in the voice to create an effect so powerful that the audience was clearly moved.

Prosodically, as well, there was a great deal of difference between Gangeshvaranand's performance and the Kharela performance. Except for an invocatory couplet (*dohā*) at the beginning, Gangeshvaranand used no meter other than the *ālhā* meter throughout his whole performance. In this, he was following the pattern of recitation most favored by the patrons of modern urban *"Ālhā"* competitions. The Kharela singers, by contrast, interspersed their recitation in *ālhā* meter with numerous fixed passages in other traditional verse forms.

The contrast between *ālhā* meter and these other verse forms is considerable. *Ālhā* meter (cf. Chart IV) is a single-line narrative meter rather than a stanzaic form. The *ālhā* line is asymmetrical, consisting of a first half-line of 16 *mātrās* (morae) and a second half-line which can be considered either 15 or 14 *mātrās* long depending on whether the final consonant (which is always pronounced mute) is counted as a *mātrā* or not. The rhyme scheme is unchanging: consonant + ā + mute consonant (e.g. *-bāt*, *-dām*, *-mār*, *-prāṇ*, *-vāy*, *-yār*, etc.). Though the *ālhā* meter is fairly loose, the two half-lines tend to break down rhythmically into four evenly stressed feet that coincide most of the time with the four stresses of the accompanying *kaharvā tāl* played on *ḍholak* and *manjirā*. The prosodic texture is therefore inseparable from the musical rhythm, and is in fact created by the interplay between the rhythm of the words and that of the percussion accom-

1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	9 10 11 12	13 14 (15)
~ ~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~ ~	— —	— —	— —	~ ~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~ ~	— ~
khaṭa khaṭa	khaṭa khaṭa	te — gā —	bā — jai —	bo – lai –	chhapaka chha	paka ta la	vā — r
x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x x	x x x
1		2		3		4	

This verse is a perfectly regular specimen of *ālhā* meter. The first line shows *mātrā* count, the second line long and short *mātrās* (morae), the third the actual line of text, the fourth line the beats of the *tā* (rhythmic cycle), with the first of each group of four underlined, and the fifth line the cycles of the *kaharvā* (eight-beat) *tāl*. The line is, incidentally, the single best known line of the *"Alhā,"* an onomatopoetic one which even people only marginally familiar with the epic will know and quote to demonstrate their knowledge. It functions as a mnemonic device for remembering the structure of the *ālhā* meter. It can be translated as "Clung! Clung! go the sabers, Slash! Slash! go the swords."

Chart IV Ālhā *meter*

paniment. *Ālhā* meter has a driving, relentless quality to it, intensified by the repetitive *tāl* played on *ḍholak* and the high speed at which singers sing much of the time – especially in the traditions of the Kanauj-Baiswara region.

Whereas the effect of Gangeshvaranand's performance was almost hypnotic in its prosodic regularity, the Kharela recitation was full of surprises. Just as the singer's audience would start being lulled by the repetitiveness of the *ālhā* meter, he would suddenly switch to a couplet or other stanzaic form, breaking the spell. Similarly, when the singer sensed his audience tiring from the concentration needed to follow the more complex meters (and poetic language) of his memorized verses, he would break the tension by slipping back into the familiar prosodic groove of *ālhā* meter. The Kharela performance was thus far more richly textured in its prosody than was Gangeshvaranand's.

Stylistically, the two performances also had very different textures. In general, Gangeshvaranand's was much more prosaic, a straightforward linear narrative interspersed with passages of dialogue, the plot being moved ahead step by step without much digression or poetic embellishment. By contrast, the Kharela singers' narrative meandered back and forth between action, dialogue, flashback and commentary, with poetic embellishment and digressions at every opportunity. The principal device used to create this variety was the alternation between the leaner narrative material in *ālhā* meter (referred to by Bundelkhand singers as *sairā*) and the rich poetic material from medieval literary texts (referred to as *raiso*) brought in to flesh out the narrative, create more vivid description and underscore particular ideas, feelings and words.

The use of *raiso* material also contributed to a much greater range of vocabulary in the Kharela performance. While Gangeshvaranand used mostly everyday words from contemporary speech, the memorized verses recited by the Kharela singers brought in a whole archaic layer of vocabulary evoking the time period of the epic events. Furthermore, even in the *sairā* portions of the performance, the Kharela singers tended towards language that was vivid, concrete and idiomatic, while Gangeshvaranand had a tendency towards statement that was general and abstract, not richly evocative.

Use of traditional poetic devices (similes, metaphors, alliteration, punning, repetition, parallelism, etc.) was much more frequent and elaborate in the Kharela performance. Conversely, though all composition in *ālhā* meter makes considerable use of formulas, Gangeshvaranand's "text" was much more heavily formulaic than that of the Kharela singers. While Gangeshvaranand's recitation was full of the typical *"Ālhā"* formulas known to singers of all the traditions (e.g., *ekai bāta yā tuma para kahiyata, so tumi māni leo kahīya hamār*, "I've got this one thing to say to you, pay attention to my words"), the Kharela singers composed in a more individualistic way, breaking away from the formulas or playing around with them in unusual ways. Another noticeable difference between the two performances was the amount of proverbial material incorporated into the recitation of the Kharela singers. Whenever one of their characters was making an argument for something, it would be backed up by a whole catalogue of proverbial precedents and statements of proverbial truths. There were also frequent rhetorical appeals to analogies from tradition. Finally, in terms of traditional Indian poetics, the Kharela singers' performance was one that evoked many different *rasas* or aesthetic moods, while Gangeshvaranand concentrated exclusively on the heroic mood (*vīra rasa*).

Epilogue: When Performance Styles Meet

By closely examining two *"Ālhā"* performances by singers representative of different regional traditions, one more traditional and the other more modern, we have seen how much a shared epic tradition can vary in contemporary performance. The extent to which performance styles are tied to regions and types of audiences was dramatically illustrated by two parallel occurrences which took place during the 1983 recitation season. Because it was the 800th anniversary of the historic battle between King Prithviraj and the Chandels of Mahoba, cultural organizers in Bundelkhand had invited *"Ālhā"* singers from all over the Hindi area to come to Mahoba for a three-day *"Ālhā"* festival. A month after that event, the annual *"Ālhā"* competition in Kanauj took place on an unprecedented scale, in part because of the interest shown by the central government's Minister of Tourism, who attended the opening session.

Thus in both places, there was opportunity to observe what happens when performers of one regional style sing before audiences accustomed to a different style. In Mahoba, the audience listened in pin-drop silence and with total concentration as long as singers from the Bundelkhand tradition were performing, but people started becoming restless whenever Kanauj-Baiswara ensemble groups came on. In Kanauj, the audience reaction was even stronger. The local organizers had decided to allot a whole three-hour period of evening "prime time" to the singers from Bundelkhand, as a way of introducing their style to the local audience. Innocently, the Bundelkhand singers chose to perform one of their favorite episodes, one which is not part of the Kanauj-Baiswara tradition. After a short period of tolerant attentiveness, the audience, bored with what it perceived as the musical monotony of the performance, began to titter and break into whispered comments. As the story unfolded, boredom began to be replaced by disbelief and eventually anger. Comments began to be heard: "That's not in the *'Ālhā'*!", "They've made it all up!". People started getting up and walking out, mimicking and making fun of the recitation style of the Bundelkhand performers. Eventually, to avoid pandemonium, the organizers had to ask the Bundelkhand singers to leave the stage and called up familiar local singers in their place. Dispirited, the Bundelkhand singers went back to their seats, and listened to the Kanauj-Baiswara singers' ensemble performances and heavy instrumentation with equally strong disapproval. Later, however, back at the hospice where they were being lodged, one of the Bundelis was heard to say, "Maybe we should try using instruments the way those people do. … It might make our performance more attractive to the kind of city folk they have here."

Notes

[1] This paper is based on research conducted in north India during 1979 and 1983, with the help of a Fulbright-Hayes grant for Faculty Research Abroad, a Senior Fellowship of the American Institute of Indian Studies, and a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society. For help in recording, transcription and translation, I would like to express my appreciation to Sharad Chandra Ojha, Shivepal Singh Gautam and Zahir Singh. For sharing their knowledge of the *"Ālhā"* tradition and guiding me to sources, singers and locations, I am indebted to many people, especially Dr. Ramesh Tiwari, Dr. Mahendra Pratap, Dr. Agnihotri, and Shrikrishna Chaurasia. For their hospitality in the village of Kharela, I am grateful to the entire family of Uttam Singh.

[2] For general information on the *"Ālhā,"* cf. Dvivedi 1969, Lutgendorf 1979, Schomer 1989, and Waterfield 1923.

[3] For example, at the time of the Sino-Indian border conflict of 1962, an *"Ālhā"* episode entitled *"Chīn kī laṛāī"* ("The Battle of China") was composed.

[4] The first instance was reported to me by Dr. Ramesh Tiwari (personal communication, 6/26/79). The second was related by Ramujagar Pande, an *"Ālhā"* singer who was a retired railway worker and a former militant in the railway workers' union (personal communication, 9/17/79).

[5] My field recordings, which have been archived at the Archive for Ethnomusicology of the University of Washington and at the American Institute of Indian Studies' Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology in New Delhi, cover performances by over 65 singers. At least 25 different tunes are represented in this collection.

[6] This is a pattern of accompaniment that becomes increasingly common in folk music as one moves westward into Punjab and Rajasthan.

[7] His name is Lallu Vajpeyi, and he is one of the most successful *"Ālhā"* singers today, performing year-round and on All-India Radio. His style, flashy and dramatic, is clearly oriented to pleasing modern urban audiences.

[8] The source texts referred to by singers were principally three: the Mahoba section *("Mahobākhaṇḍ")* of the courtly epic *"Pṛthvīrāj rāso,"* the so-called *"Parmāl rāso"* (Das 1919), and an extremely rare text called the *"Gyānī rāso."* For a comparison between the narratives in these medieval texts and that in the oral tradition as set down in modern-day printed versions of the *"Ālhā"* (called *"Ālhakhaṇḍ")* cf. Mishra 1983.

[9] The Bhujariyan Festival *(Bhujariyoṅ kā tyahuār)* is the regional version of the pan-Indian Raksha Bandhan festival that takes place during the rainy season month of Savan. The name of the festival comes from the custom of people walking in procession to the nearest lake, pond or river to immerse in it small leaf baskets *(bhujari)* in which barley or wheat seeds have sprouted.

[10] For help in analyzing the melodies, I would like to thank Prof. Lorraine Sakata of the University of Washington.

[11] For help in analyzing the *ḍholak* and *manjīrā* accompaniment of the performances, I would like to thank Pranesh Khan of the Ali Akbar College of Music.

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Karine Schomer

Das „*Ālhā*“-Epos in seiner heutigen Aufführungspraxis (Kurzfassung)

Das „*Ālhā*“ ist der populärste und am weitesten verbreitete heroische Epenzyklus unter den hindisprechenden Bevölkerungsgruppen der nordindischen Region. Die Aufführungen, die während der Monsunzeit stattfinden, bestehen aus Episoden, die einzelne Schlachtereignisse schildern. Das „*Ālhā*“ wurde traditionsgemäß in Dörfern und auf dem Lande aufgeführt und zwar 1. durch Laien in einem mehr formlosen häuslichen oder nachbarschaftlichen Rahmen, 2. in der Öffentlichkeit durch bezahlte professionelle oder semi-professionelle Künstler und 3. während Volksfestveranstaltungen in einzelnen Regionen. In Klein- und Großstädten finden in jüngerer Zeit aber auch moderne Bühnenaufführungen statt.

Der Aufführungsstil variiert in den verschiedenen Unterregionen des Verbreitungsgebiets, was Melodie, Trommelbegleitung und Instrumentation anbelangt. Dasselbe gilt für die Kostüme und die Requisiten, für die Gestik und Mimik. Die Aufnahmen zu zwei Aufführungen – einer mehr traditionellen im Solostil von Bundelkhand gehaltenen und einer mehr modernen im Ensemblestil von Baiswara – werden miteinander verglichen, um die Variationsbreite im musikalischen und dramatischen Aufführungsstil des „*Ālhā*“ zu verdeutlichen.

Heutzutage verfügen die Künstler über eine größere Mobilität und treten wie etwa bei den öffentlichen Wettbewerben, die von mittelständischen Kulturorganisatoren veranstaltet werden, in einem veränderten Aufführungsrahmen vor einem Massenpublikum auf. Diese Umstände bringen Sänger verschiedener Regionen und Vertreter verschiedener Lokalstile zusammen. Damit zeichnet sich der Beginn einer gegenseitigen Stilbeeinflussung ab.

Karine Schomer

L'*Ālhā* tel qu'il est exécuté aujourd'hui (résumé)

L'*Ālhā* est le cycle épique héroïque le plus connu et le plus populaire parmi les groupes de langue hindi d'Inde du Nord. Les représentations, qui ont lieu durant la période des moussons, mettent en scène des épisodes de l'épopée narrant une seule bataille. Par tradition, elles sont données surtout dans les villages et les zones rurales; elles peuvent avoir lieu, avec des acteurs amateurs, dans des maisons particulières et leurs alentours, ou dans des endroits publics en plein air et les acteurs sont alors des professionnels et des semi-professionnels rémunérés, ainsi que dans les foires régionales. Depuis peu, on peut également assister à des mises en scène modernes dans les théâtres des villes.

Les styles d'exécution – y compris la mélodie et le jeu du tambour, les instruments, les costumes, les décors, les gestes et les mimiques – varient beaucoup d'une sous-région à l'autre. Ces variantes musicales et dramatiques sont illustrées par la comparaison de deux représentations enregistrées de styles différents: l'une, plus traditionnelle, est dans le style de Bundelkhand, interprété par des solistes, et l'autre, plutôt moderne et à caractère collectif, est représentative du style de Baiswara.

Aujourd'hui, la mobilité accrue des acteurs et l'évolution des occasions dans lesquelles l'*Ālhā* est mise en scène – par exemple, dans le contexte de concours proposés au grand public par les organisateurs de manifestations culturelles des classes moyennes – amènent les chanteurs et les traditions de différentes sous-régions à se rencontrer, et peuvent favoriser une influence mutuelle des styles.

Gerd Baumann

The Re-Invention of *bhangra.* Social Change and Aesthetic Shifts in a Punjabi Music in Britain

Considerations of change in Indian musical traditions may focus on the social changes relating to musical performance and reception, or on aesthetic shifts both among audiences and artists. Among the former, such processes as internal migration and urbanization have helped to turn musicians into professionals, increased diversification and specialization, and facilitated the spread of industrial technologies of recording, production and marketing; these in turn have helped to create, and now aim at, mass audiences and their tastes. Aesthetic shifts, on the other hand, can seem to have followed trajectories of their own and do not easily yield to sociological modes of analysis. Very often, all we can do is to rely on generalized cultural processes, such as "Westernization", which are easy to recognize but impossible to define. The articulation of social changes with aesthetic shifts remains a theoretical problem, as well as an ethnographic one. Some possibilities, however, may be glimpsed by pursuing the relatively rare cases in which social changes are abrupt, rather than gradual, and aesthetic shifts punctuated by decisive external events. Such is the case with *bhangra*, the Punjabi folk dance and music which, transplanted to Britain, has become a genre of popular music in a short space of time and at clearly defined junctures in the process of international migration and settlement.

Bhangra as a Genre

The dance and song genre *bhangra* originates in the Punjab, and it continues there, and especially in the Indian parts of the divided region, to flourish as a folk genre, both rural and urban. It celebrates the robust and energetic punctuated rhythms and iambic meter of the double-sided drums *dhol* and *dholki*, the supple directness of Punjabi-language strophic poetry, and the pleasures associated with its main social occasion, the harvest festival *bhaisakhi*. In the rural Punjab, *bhangra* is performed as the male counterpart to the traditional women's songs *ghidda*, accompanied by hand-claps rather than drums. In the cities of the Punjab, as in the subcontinent's cities with sizeable Punjabi minorities, *bhangra* has, over the past decade or two, come to stand on its own as the set dance for weddings and coming-of-age parties, and increasingly also engagement parties and birthday celebrations. It is not unlikely, however, that a wedding in Amritsar or Ludhiana, or for that matter a Punjabi wedding in Delhi or Bombay, will feature *bhangra* music recorded by, or influenced by, *bhangra* musicians living in Britain. There, the genre has undergone social and aesthetic changes at a rate unequalled in its known history. Three new styles of *bhangra*, *bhangra beat*, *rock bhangra* and *house bhangra* developed from a fusion of musical influences from the late 1970s onwards. Taken in their entirety, these changes amount to a re-invention of the traditional genre by a series of new styles and aesthetic tenets. This re-invention of *bhangra* relied on Punjabi musicians gaining access to the production and distribution technologies associated with popular, rather than folk music. The aesthetic fusion represented in the first new style of *bhangra* and the emergence of *bhangra beat* can be related with some certainty to the encounter of two socially distinct sections among the Punjabi immigrants who arrived in Britain at different times and with what one might call, with Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), different "cultural capital."[1]

Punjabi Migrations to Britain

Predominantly rural Punjabi migrants had settled in Britain in noticeable numbers from the early 1950s. The majority were Sikh by religion and of the Jat caste of landlords or farmers, raised in the ethos of hard work in the fields and intense enjoyment, through *bhangra* dancing and music, at times of harvest and wedding. This first cohort of migrants was virtually entirely male and sought unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in manufacturing industries which would allow them to return home with substantial savings after a few years. Households could consist of up to a dozen men, interrelated by kinship and affinity to various degrees and tied by the processes of chain-migration. Family or wedding celebrations were as rare and inappropriate in these makeshift households as celebrations of harvest or most religious occasions. With the gradual tightening of British immigration restrictions from the 1960s and the incipient sentiments of settlement among male migrants who had extended their original time limit beyond the now proverbial "five years," women and, where applicable, wives and children, were induced to follow the path of migration and reconstitute Punjabi families, this time in Britain. The process was extremely swift, as families felt under pressure to complete re-settlement before British politicians might close the country's borders and bar the path to permanent settlement, defy old marriage arrangements, or force men to return prematurely or women and children to become illegal immigrants. The reconstitution of Punjabi families proceeded at its fastest rate from the mid- to the late 1960s.[2]

During the same period, however, the predominantly Sikh, and predominantly Jat migrants were joined by emigrants from Kenya and later Uganda fleeing the process of "Africanization" by which the newly independent east African states replaced the administrative and commercial "middle" class of south Asians whom British colonial authorities had recruited there from the early years of the century. The east African Indians now escaping to Britain were again predominantly Punjabis, and more than half were Sikh. Most of these Sikhs, however, were of the castes of Tarkhan and Lohar, carpenters and blacksmiths whom British authorities had shipped to east Africa for the building of railways and towns earlier this century.[3] Several contradictions became apparent with their joining the ranks of what British commentators tend to lump together under the label "Asian immigrants": the craft castes of carpenters and blacksmiths are thought of as "village serfs" in the classical literature.[4] The same evaluation pertained among the Jat. Their experience of urban life and industrial jobs in east Africa, however, gave them an edge of economic superiority over their Jat neighbours in Britain. They further differed from their neighbours in that they arrived in Britain in close-knit family units used to living as distinctive and cohesive "communities," rather than as individual male "new frontiersmen" (Aurora 1967) tempted, at least before they were joined by wives or brides from the subcontinent, superficially to assimilate to British working class expectations and styles of life. A further difference, and not an unimportant one, lay in the religious diversity of Punjabis from east African countries: beside Sikhs, they comprised a sizeable number of Hindus and Muslims, all three bound together by their past experience in east Africa, the hesitant welcome extended to them by their Jat predecessors from the subcontinent, and their shared urban background and professional skills.[5] While it is important to mention these internal cleavages within the Punjabi population of Britain, this should not obscure the fact that, to British public opinion and the media, all south Asian residents continued to be lumped together as "Asian immigrants" and to be seen as a "problem," rather than an asset, throughout the 1970s and later. The majority of Punjabi families settled in "immigrant" quarters of London and the industrial cities of the English Midlands, and remained invisible to the indigenous population's political, social and cultural concerns. Unlike the Caribbean minority, it remained also inaudible in the concert of musics in Britain. While Caribbean *reggae* and *dub* and Black American music exerted a powerful influence and attraction on British audiences and the music industry, *bhangra* remained unknown outside what Punjabi musicians in Britain call "the wedding circuit."

The Emergence of *bhangra beat*

There had been amateur groups performing *bhangra* at weddings and community celebrations from probably the mid-1960s. These played the traditional repertoire in traditional style, and, with the re-constitution of Punjabi communities in a few suburbs of British cities, most notably Southall in west London, found an increasing demand for live performances at family functions. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, young people of south Asian backgrounds in Britain continued to favour sound systems playing *reggae* and, from 1983, fast jazzfunk, hip hop and, particularly among girls, soul. The commercial production of *bhangra beat,* or as it was also known, "The Southall Beat" did not reach wider young audiences until 1984, when the group pioneering the new style *alaap*, founded in 1977, produced what is still a best-seller in the British south Asian music market, the collection *"Teri Chunni De Sitare"* (London: Arishma 1984). By 1985, this and other productions of "The Southall Beat" began to overtake hip hop and soul in the now expanding clubs and discos aimed specifically at a young, British-raised south Asian audience. Groups such as "Holle Holle" and "Heera" joined *alaap* in a new emphasis on sampling, drum machines and high-tech synthesizers. In the latter half of 1987, *bhangra beat* finally attracted the attention of the British music press, and filled large prestigious venues in central London and the West End, as well as in clubs throughout the English Midlands. It is remarkable how consistently the genesis of *bhangra beat* relied on a fusion of musicians raised in rural areas of the Punjab, and especially the Doab, and musicians, managers and producers raised in east Africa. This social fusion appears indeed to have been the *conditio sine qua non* for the emergence of *bhangra beat*. Sociologically speaking, it conferred on the Punjabi population of Britain the numerical strength, the capital, the professional expertise, and the tendency, at least among youth, to overcome parental divisions of caste and religion by the shared appeal to a "British Asian identity." Aesthetically, the fusion allowed for a new style of music that, while using the technologies of mass production and distribution, could claim to perpetuate and spread a genre deeply rooted in the folk culture of the Punjab. By far the greatest number of *bhangra beat* productions, regardless of mixing and sampling and later developments, rely on counterfactures of traditional songs.

Instrumental and Stylistic Diversification

Bhangra groups may consist of as few as four, and as many as a dozen musicians. Each group has one or two lead singers, who for refrains are joined by some of their instrumentalists. The instrumental line-ups usually comprise of keyboards and guitar, sometimes joined by a saxophone and complemented by a bass. The percussion section comprises the traditional double-headed cylindrical *dhol* or *dholak* drum played with sticks and the smaller drum *dholki*, played with the hands. The latter may, in recent years, be supplemented or indeed replaced by a *tabla* or by congas. This replacement of a traditional folk drum indicates a shift toward diversification of timbre and texture that can be recognizable also in the proliferation of ever more dominant keyboard synthesizers, coupled with more sophisticated drum kits and drum machines. These innovations in line-up are usually credited to groups from the English Midlands, rather than London's suburb Southall where the English *bhangra beat* originated. From about 1986/87, Midlands groups began strongly to compete for the popularity of the Southall groups by using new instrumentation to create a style sometimes designated as *northern rock bhangra*. It was also in the Midlands, and particularly in Birmingham, that the late 1980s saw the emergence of a stronger influence of hip hop and house music on the genre, which bore fruition in a style known as *house bhangra*. Under these influences, the techniques of mixing and sampling have come to be widespread for most recorded and many live performances.

It appears possible again to suggest a nexus between these aesthetic shifts and the sociological patterns pertaining among Punjabis in Britain. In this case, the link appears to lie, at least partly, in the social patterns of demography and settlement. The birthplace of *bhangra beat,* Southall in west London, forms a virtual enclave of some 30,000 Punjabis in tight residential concentration. Southall is well-known, among south Asians in Britain, as a very clearly bounded, internally close-knit *chota Panjab* ("Little Punjab"). Local musicians tend to know each other intimately, and frequently re-align in new groups drawn from previously rival ones. Punjabis in the Midlands cities live interspersed with white English, Afro-Caribbean and other groups whose musical preferences present an inescapable challenge to creative musicians. These stylistic shifts should not be thought of as an evolutionary process, however. The established groups of Southall, and indeed musically far more traditionalist groups continue to flourish and attract audiences across all generational divides.

Ill. 1 The bhangra beat *group "Heera" in performance – credit: Paul Slattery, London.*

Bhangra as Wedding Dance and Disco Entertainment

Bhangra beat remains the set musical entertainment for Punjabi weddings, engagement parties, birthday and other family celebrations. Groups have sprung up not only in cities with large Punjabi communities, but across smaller towns of the south-east of England and the Midlands. The best-known groups, such as "Alaap," "Heera" and "Holle Holle" from Southall, "D.C.S.," "Chirag

Pehchan" and "Golden Star" from Coventry and Birmingham, are booked for wedding entertainments on virtually every week-end of the spring and summer season. A wedding performance by these or any of the lesser-known groups tends to last for five to eight hours and mobilise dancers of all ages. While in the first phase of a wedding dance entertainment, young men and young women dance in loosely segregated groups, the second phase sees them mixing more freely, to be joined in the third by married men of young to late middle age and a few, though hardly many, married women. *Bhangra* at weddings remains largely the male and young people's dance that it was in the rural Punjab; as music, however, it appeals to both men and women, and even to the most dignified and oldest guests.

Almost as much *bhangra beat,* and virtually all *rock bhangra* and *house bhangra*, however, is performed at "gigs" in community centres, local halls, and clubs and discos both in the suburbs settled by Punjabis and in the city centres of London, Birmingham, Coventry, Leeds, and other cities. The most prestigious and famous venues of London's West End, such as the Empire Ballroom, Leicester Square, and large-scale discotheques such as The Hippodrome attracted up to 4,000 young British Asians, and young people from cities and towns without their own venues flocked to such events in fleets of chartered buses.

One distinctive institution of "the *bhangra* scene" developing in the mid-1980s was the so-called "daytimer," a live event which takes place during school hours and attracts pupils and students absconding from lessons to make up for their parents' reluctance to allow them out of the house at night. Parents, of course, were scandalized when the British press, in a media hype lasting from mid-1987 to mid-1988, brought home to them news of their offspring exchanging their school uniforms for attractive clothes hidden in school-bags and flocking to crowded discotheques reverberating with the sounds of *bhangra beat, rock bhangra* and *house bhangra*. Yet their disapproval was mitigated by two factors at least: One is aptly expressed by the singer Mac of the group "Dhamaka:"

> Daytimers reinforce our culture and values, girls dress in sulwaars [salwaar-kamiz, the traditional dress of Punjabi women], boys can come in with their turbans and get no hassle. The music is our music, and it's their show, not a "goray" [*gore*, lit. "Whites"] gig or a "kale" [*kale*, lit. "Blacks"] show. Do parents want for kids to go out to *gora* shows? Would they rather have Asian kids disowning and abandoning their culture, to become the Sharons and Garys of tomorrow (anon. 1988a:14)?

Most Punjabi parents I questioned wanted neither, and while they disapproved of their own children absconding to "daytimers," they did not let their dislike of the institution affect their approval of the genre as such, and of its newfound attraction to the younger generation. Among younger Punjabis in particular, the newly vibrant "*bhangra* scene" was valued not only because it re-invented a traditional genre, but also because it made the Punjabi, and indeed south Asian, presence in Britain visible and audible for the first time. Music weeklies and the teenage press, the feature pages of popular and upmarket dailies alike, the colour supplements of all British Sunday papers, radio networks and television programmes "discovered" "the *bhangra* scene" from mid-1987, and over the following year or so revelled in colour photos of young men in turbans and ties and young women in glamorous Asian dresses visibly enjoying "the *bhangra* craze." *Bhangra* was attractive to the print and visual media in that it provided not only readily-available footage of photogenic young people having fun in an attractively exotic style, but also offered an occasion to cover a group of "second generation immigrants" who hitherto had been all but invisible in the media. The few exceptions had occurred at times of crisis, such as the Southall Riots of 1979 and 1981, against which "the *bhangra* hype" could spread the reassuring message that young south Asians in Britain were neither the rebels they had been feared to be, nor the over-ambitious and rather too well-behaved conformists that public stereotypes, often in implied contradistinction from "second generation West Indians," made them out to be. The media attention did very little, however, to make *bhangra* more audible in the concert of musics in Britain, a point to be addressed at the end of this article. To appreciate the popularity of *bhangra* throughout the Punjabi and indeed south Asian community, it is useful first to consider the values and cultural functions associated with the genre in its re-invented form.

The Values of *bhangra*

Punjabis of the migrant generation, and to some extent also their offspring born or raised in Britain, tend to stress the facts that *bhangra* songs are in Punjabi language and thus serve both to perpetuate the heritage of Punjabi song poetry and to deepen the younger generation's appreciation of their parents' tongue. Musically, too, even the recordings most heavily orientated on drum machines and mixing and sampling techniques are instantly recognizable as celebrating the folk-based genre, and experts indeed often recognize them as

Ill. 2 Bhangra *dancers in a discotheque, London.*

counterfactures, parodies or fragments of less well-known traditional songs. The texts of virtually all of these songs are celebratory in tone, and can focus on the beauties of the harvest season, on natural and human beauty, and on a range of, usually male, sentiments about attraction, companionship, friendship and love. A great many of the *bhangra* songs most popular in England celebrate experiences of infatuation and romantic love. They do so in a robust and worldly way which contrasts with the romanticism associated with the songs of Hindustani films *(filmi git)* home videos of which can be found in virtually all Punjabi households in Britain. These are one of the chief recreations of British Punjabis of the parental generation rather than the filial one, and of females rather than males. *Bhangra* productions in all three of the new styles can be recognized after a few words and the first few bars of the punctuated iambic drum rhythms as unmistakably Punjabi, even when overlaid by synthesizers and drum machines, sampling, mixing and scratching techniques, used typically in introductory, transitional or final passages.

Aside only from "daytimers," *bhangra* discos and "gigs" in local community or school venues have the endorsement and support of many parents and teachers, especially when it is clear that youngsters will not get into bad company or have a chance to act against the exacting codes of *izzat*, that is, respect and family honour. Parents from rural backgrounds in particular profess relief that *bhangra* discos assure at least that their children enjoy Punjabi things in Punjabi company.

Among the young fans and disco goers, on the other hand, *bhangra* has afforded, for the first time, the pleasures of a discernable youth culture in the sociological sense, an emancipation from parental guidance and tastes unthinkable only a decade ago. It is schematic, of course, to impute too much clarity and definition into this boundary between "generations:" there are young people with traditional tastes and aspirations and old people with zest for innovation. One of the most remarkable feats of good *bhangra* songs is indeed the ease with which they can clothe social critique in traditional garb and make it accessible and perhaps even acceptable in wider circles. An example may be seen in the song *"Is daaj noo bandh karro"* by one of the most successful and best-selling Midlands *bhangra* groups, "Golden Star." In it, Malkit Singh, former prize winner of Khalsa College, Amritsar, and a singer deeply proud of his Punjabi roots and devoted to Punjabi poetry, opposes the dowry system as "the most evil thing in our society," a tradition which "the couple [. . .] should refuse flatly" to follow. Yet

> the strange thing is that at weddings we are requested to play this song at least two or three times. I don't know whether they wish to make a point to the new in-laws or what (Mann & Veera 1988:11).

While thus allowing for the emergence of an incipient youth culture among Punjabis and giving vent to social critique, *bhangra* as a genre is remarkably effective in enhancing the cohesion of the Punjabi community across political, moral, aesthetic, and many social divides. This cohesion is by no means insular, although it may appear so to the first observer.

As was indicated above, the south Asian population in Britain is divided along cleavages of nationality – Indian, Pakistani, Bangla Deshi and others –, religion – mainly Sikh, Muslim and Hindu –, caste and class, rural or urban origins, paths of migration and a host of other social and cultural factors. Some of these cleavages continue to be endowed with emotional significance and normative force, for instance in the selection of suitable marriage partners. Monolithic and undifferentiated as "Asians in Britain" appear to the indigenous population and media, unity across such internal cleavages is an ambition shared by many of the British-born generation, but elusive in practice. Similar strivings for an ethnic unity across parental divisions may indeed be seen also among youth and musicians from Afro-Caribbean backgrounds in Britain. Within this search for "Asian unity," the new styles of *bhangra* provided not only a symbol, but the focal point of a new youth culture, complete with its own venues and conventions, activities and interests, within which divisions of class and caste, religion and nationality were consciously denied significance. In the words of Komal, one of the lead singers of the east London *bhangra* group "Cobra:"

> I can remember going to college discos a long time ago, when all you heard was Reggae, Reggae, Reggae. Asians were lost, they weren't accepted by whites, so they drifted into the black culture, dressing like blacks, talking like them, and listening to reggae. But now *Bhangra* has given them "their" music and made them feel that they do have an identity. No matter if they are Gujaratis, Punjabis or whatever, – *Bhangra* is Asian music for Asians (Dewan 1988: 8).

The point is elaborated and placed in the political context by Kuljit Bhamra, one of the most thoughtful producers of select *bhangra* records throughout the 1980s:

> I think people maybe felt the need to identify themselves, and in order to do that a medium was needed, and that medium was *Bhangra*. There is always this roots feeling, and people will always want to know where they came from: we are a different colour, we are from a different country originally, so where do we fit in? The Southall Riots made me aware of this as they did others. ... Racism exists between societies,

> within societies, and within cultures, but the whole of the Asian society is taking part in *Bhangra* because there is always this need for a roots feeling. [...] There really is a need to stay together and be amongst your own birds of a feather owing to racism, and *Bhangra* music has provided [for] that need (anon. 1988b:14)

These aspirations toward a cultural, and in the widest sense political, unity of "British Asians" owe far less to encouragement from the migrant generation than to the example of Afro-Caribbean musicians and community activists who achieved the public visibility and musical audibility hitherto denied to their south Asian peers. The new styles of *bhangra* can indeed claim to have provided the first common focus for an emerging "British Asian" youth culture which confirms a continuing attachment to values shared with parents and rooted in the subcontinent, yet also allows for social conventions, fashions and aspirations derived from the urban British youth culture of the 1980s. It was no surprise, therefore, when the most prominent *bhangra* groups began, around 1987, to fix their sights on the British music industry and its "mainstream" markets.

Bhangra in the British Music Industry

While all *bhangra* recordings had, until then, been produced by a handful of south Asian, and usually ex-east African entrepreneurs, some of them slow to remunerate musicians and inefficient in curtailing the vast trade in pirated copies, outstanding groups vied for contracts with multinational recording companies. These were to pave *bhangra* the way into the popular charts and the high street music stores by producing a "cross-over" between *bhangra* and Western pop. At the time of writing, it appears that the various attempts at this "cross-over" have failed to capture non-Asian mass audiences and their tastes. To account for this, must, at the present stage, involve an element of speculation. A few reasons, however, seem apparent and make sense also to musicians whom I interviewed. Musically, even the most innovative *bhangra* recordings share the robust, if often graceful, ebullience that characterizes the genre; visually, the most accomplished *bhangra* groups, formed by musicians in their thirties and forties, fall short of the physically romantic stereotypes associated with pop stars. Textually, the poetry of *bhangra* songs appears resistant to translation into the English of pop music. Ideologically, British stereotypes of "Asian" or "Indian" music and musicians remain orientated on qualities such as sensuousness, softness and seductiveness, associated with the blurred contours of *sitār* arpeggios and really or metaphorically feminine performers. It is likely that the British music industry will continue to search for a "cross-over" market by adapting the genre of the light *ghazal*, or by promoting singers of south Asian descent committed to the aesthetics of Anglo-American pop.[6] So far as the mass market is concerned, *bhangra*, even in its re-invented styles, appears tied by its enduring aesthetic characteristics: it retains the qualities of a single genre, performed in varying styles, of a folk music rooted in the culture of the rural Punjab.

Conclusion

Bhangra beat, rock bhangra and *house bhangra* are styles of a re-invented traditional genre, rather than new genres in their own right. It is for this reason, perhaps, and for the extraordinary speed of recent changes, that their emergence and development can show with such clarity the articulation of social changes and aesthetic shifts. Within the space of scarcely more than ten years, *bhangra* as a folk genre was re-invented in the new style of popular *bhangra beat;* this aesthetic shift relied upon the fusion of a public, of musicians, and of producers drawn, in different proportions, from the subcontinent and from the urban communities migrating from east Africa. The interaction with Afro-Caribbean and Anglo-American styles of popular music, facilitated by the more heterogeneous settlement patters of the English Midlands, gave rise to further aesthetic shifts toward *rock bhangra* and *house bhangra*. The emergence of *bhangra* music as a focal point for an incipient "British Asian" youth culture finally coincided with political aspirations toward a sense of ethnic unity across traditional divides. *Bhangra* music remains likely, over the next decade, to dominate the south Asian music market and industry in Britain; its entry into the youth culture and popular music market of Britain at large, nonetheless, will continue to face obstacles hard to overcome.

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Notes

[1] The notion was first developed in Bourdieu's and Passeron's (1977) work on the sociology of education and cultural reproduction; Bordieu (1984) has since applied the concept to his documentation and critique of aesthetic judgements and taste in contemporary France.

[2] The best ethnography of a Jat settlement in Britain during these years is to be found in Helweg's (1979) study of the London suburb Gravesend on Thames.

[3] The formation of south Asian communities in east Africa is described in detail by Morris (1968) who, however, focuses mainly on Hindu and Muslim migrants.

[4] For the earliest source of this usage, cf. Rose (1911-19); for the most widely quoted Hatton (1946).

[5] These five heritages, of religious diversity within, self-portrayal as one "community" without, slow initial acceptance by "other" Britons and "other" Punjabis alike, shared urban enculturation, and shared craftspride, are illustrated most lucidly in Bhachu (1985).

[6] The dynamics of *bhangra* and the light *ghazal* within the British music market and industry are examined more closely in Banerji (1988) and Banerji & Baumann ([forthc.]).

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Gerd Baumann

Die Wiedererfindung des *bhangra:* Sozialer Wandel und ästhetische Verschiebungen in einem Genre pundschabischer Volksmusik in Großbritannien (Kurzfassung)

Der Artikel verfolgt die Verbindungen zwischen sozialem Wandel und ästhetischen Verschiebungen in einem Genre pundschabischer Volksmusik, das sich während der vergangenen Dekade zur bei weitem beliebtesten Popularmusik der südasiatischen Immigranten in Großbritannien gewandelt hat. Zumeist männliche Gastarbeiter aus den ländlichen Distrikten des Pundschab, überwiegend Sikhs der Bauernkaste Jat, sowie kleinere Gruppen aus anderen Teilen des indischen Subkontinents, siedelten sich zumeist von 1955 bis 1965 in den Vorstädten Londons und der englischen Midlands an. Im Verlauf des folgenden Jahrzehnts kam es zu ausgedehnten Familienzusammenführungen durch die Einwanderung von Frauen und Kindern und damit zu einer Rekonstituierung pundschabischen Kulturlebens und Gemeinschaftswesens in England. Während desselben Zeitraums, von etwa 1965 bis 1975, kamen in diese Gemeinschaften weitere ursprünglich südasiatische Einwanderer. Diese jedoch entstammten pundschabischen Handwerkerkasten und hatten während der vorhergegangenen drei Generationen im ökonomischen Mittelbau der ostafrikanischen Staaten Kenya, Tansania und Uganda gearbeitet. Die Wiedererfindung des Volksmusikgenres *bhangra* in einem neuen Stil der Popularmusik, bekannt als *bhangra beat,* kann im Rahmen dieser demographischen Fusion verstanden werden.

Hierzu trugen die in Dörfern des Pundschab aufgewachsenen Musiker das traditionelle Erbe, die in den Städten Ostafrikas aufgewachsenen Musiker und Unternehmer das nötige kommerzielle Kapital, die unternehmerische Erfahrung und die urbane Prägung bei. Wahrend der Stil des *bhangra beat* vornehmlich in der mehrheitlich pundschabischen Stadt Southall bei London gepflegt wurde, zeichnen sich seit etwa 1987 weitere ästhetische Verschiebungen ab, in deren Verlauf Musiker aus den Städten der englischen Midlands die Stile des *bhangra rock* und des *house bhangra* entwickelten. Unter den sozialen Bedingungen dieses einflußreichen Stil- und Geschmackswandels scheint besondere Bedeutung den unterschiedlichen Siedlungsmustern zuzukommen, denenzufolge Pundschabis in den Midlands in ethnisch heterogenen, auch von karibischen Einwanderern und autochthonen Briten bewohnten Stadtteilen leben. Beide neuen Stile des Genres zeigen erkennbare Einflüsse aus der multi-ethnischen Musik-, Klub- und Jugendkultur dieser Mischsiedlungen.

Alle drei Popularstile des Genres *bhangra* finden enthusiastischen Beifall unter Pundschabis aller Religionen, Kasten, Alterskategorien und sozialen Klassen und werden auf Hochzeiten und Familienfesten ebenso gespielt wie in Klubs und Diskotheken mit mehreren Tausend jungen südasiatischen Tänzern. Die kommerziell hochentwickelte „*bhangra*-Szene" bietet eine erstmalige Gelegenheit für junge Leute aus subkontinentalen Familien, eine eigene britisch-südasiatische Jugendkultur zu entwickeln und bestätigt zu sehen. Innerhalb dieser sich als „British Asian" verstehenden Jugendkultur wird der ursprünglich pundschabische *bhangra* als Musik der gesamten sogenannten „Zweiten Generation" verstanden, die sich über alle landschaftlichen, nationalen, religiösen und Kastenunterschiede hinwegsetzt und eine im weitesten Sinne politische „Einheit" fordern und verkörpern soll. Versuche, den neuen Stilen des *bhangra* auch in den Hitlisten der gesamtbritischen Musikindustrie und im musikalischen Massenmarkt Gehör zu verschaffen, zeigen bislang keinen, etwa dem karibischen Einfluß auch nur annähernd entsprechenden Erfolg. Neben ideo-

logischen und wirtschaftlichen Faktoren fällt dabei erhebliche Bedeutung auch den ästhetischen Kontinuitäten zu, die die neuen Stile des wiedererfundenen Genres weiterhin mit dem Ethos einer sprachlich wie kulturell fremden, musikalisch überaus robusten, ländlichen Volksmusik verbinden.

Gerd Baumann

Le *bhangra* redécouvert: mutations sociales et transformation des aspects esthétiques dans un genre de musique populaire des Pañjâbi établis en Grande-Bretagne (résumé)

Cet article examine les liens entre les mutations sociales et les transformations d'ordre esthétique qui se sont opérées dans un genre de musique folklorique pañjâbi durant la dernière décennie, faisant de lui la musique populaire de loin la plus appréciée des immigrants d'Asie du Sud en Grande-Bretagne. La plus grande partie d'entre eux, des hommes des districts ruraux du Pañjâb, et en majorité des Sikhs de la caste paysanne des Jat, venus travailler en Grande-Bretagne, mais aussi d'autres petits groupes du sous-continent indien, se sont établis pour la plupart entre 1955 et 1965 en Angleterre, dans les faubourgs de Londres et dans les Midlands. Dans les dix années qui suivirent, ils firent généralement venir leur famille, et reconstituèrent les communautés pañjâbi, avec leur vie culturelle. En même temps, vers 1965 et jusqu'en 1975, d'autres immigrants originaires d'Asie du Sud vinrent se joindre à ces communautés. Ils étaient issus, eux, des castes des artisans pañjâbi et vivaient déjà depuis trois générations en Afrique orientale – au Kenya, en Tanzanie et en Ouganda –, où ils faisaient partie des catégories socioprofessionnelles moyennes. La redécouverte du *bhangra*, un genre de musique populaire au style renouvelé, dénommé le ‹*bhangra beat*›, peut s'inscrire dans le cadre de cette fusion démographique.

Les musiciens qui ont grandi dans les villages du Pañjâb ont apporté les traditions musicales, et les musiciens et chefs d'entreprise qui ont passé leur enfance dans les villes d'Afrique orientale apportèrent le capital nécessaire et leur expérience commerciale, et ils contribuèrent à donner à ce style son caractère citadin. Alors que le centre du *bhangra beat* est avant tout la ville de Southall, près de Londres, dont les habitants sont en majorité originaires du Pañjâb, on peut observer depuis les alentours de 1987 de nouvelles transformations d'ordre esthétique au cours desquelles les musiciens établis dans les villes des Midlands développèrent deux autres styles, le *bhangra rock* et le *house bhangra*. Il semble que dans les conditions sociales de cette transformation marquante du style et du goût, les différents schémas de peuplement revêtent une importance particulière. Dans les Midlands, les Pañjâbi cohabitent avec des immigrants des Caraïbes et des Britanniques autochtones, et comme on peut le constater très nettement, les deux styles nouveaux du genre ont subi les influences de la culture cosmopolite de ces quartiers qui s'est constituée dans la musique, les clubs et au sein de la jeunesse.

Ces trois styles de *bhangra* sont très populaires parmi les Pañjâbi de toutes religions, de toutes castes, de tous âges et de toutes catégories sociales. Ils sont exécutés pour les mariages et les fêtes de famille, mais aussi dans les clubs et les discothèques où se retrouvent des milliers de jeunes originaires d'Asie du Sud pour danser. Le ‹milieu *bhangra*›, qui dispose de canaux commerciaux très développés, offre pour la première fois aux jeunes d'origine indienne une occasion de développer leur propre culture britannico-sud-asiatique et de l'affirmer. Au sein de cette culture jeune qui se veut «British-Asian», le *bhangra* pañjâbi est considéré comme la musique de la «deuxième génération» tout entière, qui ne fait pas de différences entre les origines, les nationalités, les religions et les castes, et entend promouvoir et incarner une 'unité' politique, au sens le plus large du terme. L'on a bien essayé de populariser les nouveaux styles du *bhangra* sur le marché de la musique grand public et d'élargir son audience en lui faisant une place dans les hit-parades de l'industrie britannique du son. Mais, à la différence de ce qui s'est passé pour la musique des Caraïbes, ces efforts n'ont pas été couronnés de succès jusqu'à présent. Outre des facteurs idéologiques et économiques, les différents aspects de la continuité esthétique sont très importants, car ils font le lien entre ces nouveaux styles d'un genre réinventé et le génie d'une musique populaire rurale étrangère par son langage et sa culture, mais vivace sur le plan musical proprement dit.

Book Reviews

Bohlman, Philip V. The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988. 159 pp., mus. transcr., bibliography, index, illustration, chart.

The unpretentious appearance of Philip Bohlman's book – a paperback of about 150 pages with pictures of a banjo, guitar, tin whistle and other folk instruments on its cover – belies its contents and manner of presentation. This is a sophisticated book, and one which is appropriate not so much for beginners in the study of folk music, but for those who have already thought about it, read a fair amount of its scholarly literature, and have opinions as to its nature. It is a book which appears designed to affect the reader by the process of reading, not by its content, much of which is vague and undefined, or cast deliberately in a dialectic mode with no single answer apparent. A contemporary performance-oriented folk musician, attracted by its title and cover, would be likely to find this book heavy going. Scholars of folklore, ballad scholars, and academics of various sorts familiar with the formal study of folk music will be intrigued and challenged.

I suggest such an audience because, among other things, Bohlman does not define or even describe what he means by his use of the term folk music (perhaps this is what the pictures on the cover are for), except by inference and negative statements: the old International Folk Music Council (now the International Council for Traditional Music) is invoked immediately, as are the Child ballads, and in making a distinction between the study of folk music and folk song he states

> Folk music ... is not limited to Europe or north America; nor need it be rural and particularly old; nor does it circulate solely through oral transmission. These are the restrictive caveats of an earlier scholarship that the study of folk music intentionally supersedes (p. xvi).

The author justifies his omission of definition by stating that "... the different contexts of folk music that I investigate here yield very different definitions ..." and "... the dynamic nature of folk music belies the stasis of definition ..." (p. xviii). The different contexts that he includes are those of the non-Western world and of modern society. And to reflect the dynamic nature of folk music – and avoid a definition or description of folk music – he provides a series of dialectical statements which take up many of the basic conceptual issues that have been part of Western folk-music scholarship since its inception as a field in 18th century Germany and Britain. These include: universality and relativism, art and artifice, functional and aesthetic, product and process, authenticity and change, similarity and difference, style and content, unity and uniqueness, general and specific, description and prescription, emic and etic, aesthetic-formal and cultural-functional, similarity and difference, diachronic and synchronic, specific and universal, folk and art music, urban and rural, cultural core and cultural boundaries, creativity and representation, and many others. Comments around each of these issues are for the most part short and seem to beg for further discussion. Any one of the dialectic pairs might form the basis of a seminar using readings which he sometimes suggests. Bohlman's comments are reminiscent of "The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts" by Bruno Nettl (Nettl 1983), Bohlman's mentor and advisor at the University of Illinois, whose short, provocative essays in "The Study" were a rather light-hearted distillation of the exhaustive discussions of some of his earlier works. Bohlman's writing style, however, is much denser; he frequently uses German and Latin expressions, as well as the jargon of modern academe, sometimes usefully employed, sometimes unintelligible (the paragraph on realism and modernism on p. 12, for example, yields little meaning even upon repeated readings).

The ordering of chapters in the book reflects its academic origins and audience; Bohlman saves his discussion of social context and of the folk musician, on whom the existence of a field of study ultimately depends, for the two middle chapters. He begins with the favorite topics of academic discussions of folk music: origins, oral tradition, and classification. The three final chapters offer his new perspectives on folk music in non-western cultures, a dialectic presentation of the problem of folk music and canon-formation, and on folk music in the modern world.

Because the book is about the study of folk music instead of about folk music itself, there is much recapitulation of well-worn topics, especially in the earlier chapters. Bohlman does this succinctly and fairly non-judgmentally; at times, in fact, one fears that the naive reader might take some statements from the book at face value without realizing that they are presented by the author as but one side or one stage in a theory that will ultimately be superseded or at least drawn into serious question. Bohlman has respect for the history of folk-song scholarship, and gives most authors their niche, without downplaying their contributions.

In the middle chapters, the author's own voice comes more to the fore: he cites examples from his own research in the chapters on the social basis of folk music and on the folk musician, plunging the reader into much more specific material than has hitherto been offered. Bohlman, however, does not do as well at explaining his own examples as in explaining the concepts of others. The example of the change in cultural boundaries offered in an Irish-American singer's combination of two different versions of "The Streets of Laredo" (Ex. 4 on p. 61) is neither as clear nor as convincing as Bohlman makes it out to be. Yet the specificity is welcome, and the examples drawn from his fieldwork whet the appetite for longer, more contextually filled-out discussions to replace the bits and pieces drawn from diverse sources that make up the bulk of this book.

Most problematic is Bohlman's chapter, "Folk Music in Non-Western Cultures." Once again he questions implicit definitions of folk music (such as that used in "The New Grove Dictionary of Music"), but does not supply his own definition. While pointing out use of the term "folk music" in indigenous literature of new non-Western nations, he does not evaluate this use. It is my experience that when non-Western authors use the term "folk music" for music formerly called by various indigenous names, they are deliberately adopting the Western terminology to bring credibility to their studies.

Bohlman's central example for the chapter on non-Western music is music of the Middle East, but once again we are left wondering which of its many musics he means to designate as folk music, for except for the few articles cited, he gives no specific examples. He ends the chapter with a section subtitled "Are We Really All Folk?" – a particularly apt question, since he has left the boundaries totally open.

For this reviewer, one of Bohlman's most interesting chapters is that on canon-formation. The chapter suffers a slow start because once again the definition of terms is left to the reader, but when Bohlman begins to discuss and illustrate the three basic models of how context and repertoire interact to form coherent if ever-changing bodies of music – "small-group," "mediated," and "imagined" are his names for them – the material makes the concepts come alive. I would, in fact, prefer to see the term "canon" as it is used in this chapter replaced with something like "repertoire," for that is by and large what is being discussed. Using the word "canon," with its implications of rules or dogma, seems to limit the idea of how such a body of music can become coherent to some sort of conscious intervention, such as that exercised by F. J. Child in forming the well-known "Child canon" of traditional ballads. Many bodies of folk repertoire both in the past and present have instead formed gradually and without much conscious intervention. Instead it has been the scholars looking back on it that have formed the "canons" of those items they have deemed worthy of study.

Bohlman's final chapter, "Folk Music in the Modern World," revisits many of the issues raised throughout the book, bringing them together in a general argument for the inclusive nature of modern folk music and its study. He illustrates the multiple sources of one song and suggests that the modern scholar "amend intractable notions of isolation, ruralness, purely oral tradition, and primary function." This cautionary advice, serves well to open up the field of folk music study; it is less helpful in delimiting any boundaries of the field. Bohlman rightly points to the intermingling of folk music with popular and art musics – but such intermingling can be detected only if there is a general notion of what we mean by these terms. This book is for those who have such a notion – it will challenge their assumptions and goad their thinking, and may in the end call into question our very use of the term "folk music."

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Song, Bang-Song. The Sanjo Tradition of Korean Kŏmun'go Music. Seoul: Jung Eum Sa, 1986. xix + 353 pp., photographs, mus. ex., tables, index/glossary, and 36 pages of music transcriptions.

This book is the first volume of a Traditional Korean Music Series published with sponsorship from the Korean National Commission for UNESCO. It consists primarily of a re-working of Song's doctoral dissertation – "Sanjo: An Analytical Study of a Style of Korean Folk Instrumental Music" (Song 1975). To this, two slightly revised published articles are added, one on a class of professional musicians (here Chapter IV, originally Song 1974) and one which compares *sanjo* to Indian *rāga* (here Chapter IX, originally Song 1982). These two additions, unfortunately, lead to a small amount of duplications. I confess that my name appears on the final page of the preface, for I lightly edited the text.

The *kŏmun'go,* since the Unified Silla (668-935) a six-stringed instrument with sixteen frets and three movable bridges (p.65), provides the basis for three initial chapters. The *kŏmun'go,* as an instrument historically associated with the literati, is one of the most important Korean instruments; it might better be described as a half-tube zither (in the Hornbostel and Sachs classification system: 312.22.6). In Chapter I, the author impressively amasses known historical and etymological information. Much use is made of iconography recently unearthed in ancient tombs and known relations between Korea and China. The now-lost *"Silla kogi"* ("Old Record of Silla") provides a basic invention legend here translated from the 12th century *"Samguk sagi"* ("History of the Three Kingdoms"). Song questions its validity: which Chinese Qin state sent a *qin* to Korea, when? Why do we know so little about the named inventor of the *kŏmun'go,* Wang San-ak? I do not know why Song cites Van Gulik's "Lore of the Chinese Lute" (p.13) but fails to consider his reference to a Chinese source in which black cranes dance (the reference comes later), an allusion that surely weakens the Korean legend. After raising the problems, Song unfortunately seeks comfort in a normal Korean solution: the legend is assumed to be right (p.15).

Etymology proves fascinating. *Kŏmun'go* is traced for its relation to an old name, the *hyŏnhakkŭm* ("black crane zither"). The consideration of Chinese, Japanese and Korean names, and Chang Sa-hun's interpretation of *kŏmun* as "god's zither", prove that material culture in the Far East requires considerable linguistic and literary skills. Chapter II, a survey of manuscripts, is similarly noteworthy. Appendix II provides ten pages of readings translated from these manuscripts (the texts and notations provide the basis for much of our knowledge about Korean music praxis from the 15th century onwards). Tablature is explained, primarily as it appears in the 1493 *"Akhak kwebŏm."* (Provine (1988) translates this as "The Guide to the Study of Music". Brief considerations of mensural *(chŏngganbo)* and syllabic notations *(yukpo)* complete the picture. Chapter III continues with *kŏmun'go* construction details and tuning systems. Measurements offered for instruments, incidentally, are less complete than *"Akhak kwebŏm"*.

So what about the title? So far, we have nothing on *sanjo* and the consideration is – except for three pages – about the wrong instrument, the court *chŏngak kŏmun'go* rather than the smaller and more modern *sanjo kŏmun'go*. The same problem strikes me about Chapter IV: *kwangdae*, a "class of professional folk musicians" (p.76) appear not to have been concerned with *sanjo* at all. Rather, Song analyses *kwangdae* contributions to three folk genres, the long sung narratives of *p'ansori*, shamanistic instrumental improvisations *(sinawi)*, and folksongs and folkbands (*minyo* and *nongak*). Although it is never explicitly stated, pages 1-94 merely set up the background in which to consider *sanjo*. Table 4 finally proves this: *sinawi, p'ansori, nongak, minyo*, and "shaman's music" are all shown to contribute to the genre.

Sanjo is translated by Song, as it is by other scholars, as "scattered melodies". This aptly indicates a genre which matches typical melodic phrases and contours from various folk sources with new ideas. It

> probably constitutes the heart of solo instrumental music in Korea … . [It is] more frequently performed than any other traditional music … a real crystallization of Korean melody and rhythm that has been handed down by rote from generation to generation (p.3).

This, in a nutshell, demonstrates why Song's book is significant, for it is the only volume to consider *sanjo* so far published in English.

Song's historical consideration is almost faultless, though to a Korean there is little new data. Three alternative invention ideas are compared. In one Ham Hwa-jin (1884-1949), once the director of the old court music institute, tells how Kim Ch'ang-jo (1865-1920; other scholars state he died in 1918) "originated the form". A second suggests a 1,000 year tradition and the third – which Song finds most reasonable – suggests Kim merely established an overall form and stylized the content of a loosely organized, flexible piece. The development of *sanjo* for different instruments follows, coupled to the genealogy of *kŏmun'go sanjo* performers. One small point: Song's name should not appear as the successor to his teachers (p. 100), for he is not regarded as a skilled performer. In a similar vein, several photographs showing the author and the meagre list of fieldwork tapes in Appendix I are superfluous.

Chapters VI to X offer a musical analysis. They relate primarily to transcriptions of the two main *kŏmun'go sanjo* schools, those of Shin K'wae-dong (1910-1978) and Paek Nak-chun (1884-1934), which appear later (p. 245-81). In the latter, special transcription symbols are explained, but the reader with perfect pitch should not attempt to follow, because Korean pitches have been shoehorned into a Western stave. With the exception of the last movement, the transcription of Shin's closely matches that played by Kim Mu-gil in a recent compact disc (SKCD-K-0011 (SKC, Seoul, 1987)).

Each analytical chapter is basically sound, though rather simple. However, VI, "The Modal Structure," is already published elsewhere (Song 1977). VII, "The Rhythmic Structure" is inconsistent, not least since Examples 6, 8 and 14 appear to be for the barrel drum *(puk)*, an instrument never heard in *kŏmun'go sanjo*. VIII, "Improvisation and Other Features," seems to be caught between insisting that *sanjo* is improvised and accepting that "the insights of a great master … tend to become established rules for his pupils" (p. 199). In fact, the only improvisation today comes in choosing which fixed melodies to play in a given time frame. IX, "A Comparison of *sanjo* to Indian *raga*", begs the obvious question: can any such comparison be valid? The comparative idea was initiated by the *kayagŭm* player Hwang Pyŏng-gi; Hwang is not mentioned in Song's book.

I conclude with the observation that my criticisms are actually minor. Korean scholars, trained locally, have often failed to grapple with the norms of Western scholarship. This cannot be said of Song. He has brought a thoroughly academic approach to this study which I find commendable. In this context, then, the book is an important contribution to our knowledge of a distant and, as yet, poorly known musical tradition.

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Moyle, Richard. Traditional Samoan Music. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, 271 pp., photos, drawings, music, texts, charts, glossary, bibliography, index of Samoan individuals.

Richard M. Moyle, who currently teaches at the University of Auckland, is considered nowadays as the leading specialist in the field of Polynesian music (in addition, however, he has also published some studies on the music of the central territories of Australia). Within the area covered by Oceania, he has (in addition to Niue and the Northern Cook Islands) made a study of, above all, the music of Tonga and Samoa, documenting the same in an exemplary manner. Shortly after he published his comprehensive book on the music of Tonga (Moyle 1987), he submitted his analogous study of the music of Samoa. In his doctoral dissertation (Moyle 1971) he had already devoted his attention to the area covered in this study, and the volume under discussion has, in fact, its roots in this dissertation. Over the intervening seventeen years, a number of new findings have been registered (cf. Moyle 1972a, 1972b, 1974, 1977). In addition, he had completed the chapter "Samoa" (under the index heading: "Polynesia") for "The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians" (Moyle 1980). Not long ago, he was also responsible for the issue of a disc with Samoan songs (Moyle 1989). This latest volume comprises the sum total in final revision of all his scholarly research work as it concerns the specific field-work under discussion.

Moyle has concentrated his research activities on fifty-one inhabited areas on the Islands of 'Upolu, Savai'i and Manu'a, providing in addition historical recordings and historical-ethnographical source material in connection with the cultural history of this the largest group of islands in western Polynesia. After observations in respect of certain questions of orthography (the transcriptions of approximately two hundred songs are presented in the language of the indigenous inhabitants together with English translations), this being followed by a general introduction, Moyle discusses in Chapter 2 such musical terms as "rhythm" or "pitch," and comments on the learning process, the rhyming and articulation of the lyrics, the varieties of songs, and those songs that have fallen into oblivion, such as *fatu* (sung in honour of a deceased tribal chief) and *lagisolu* (lament on the death of a relative). Chapter 3 delineates the range of musical instruments in use: four varieties of slit drums, sounding-board, stamping tubes, the beating of rolled-up mats, the clapping together of the two halves of a coconut, bamboo drums, the clapping of hands and striking the body, the banging together of two stones, two kinds of skin drums, conches, three kinds of pan pipes, mouth-blown flutes, two kinds of pipes and an oboe. All these instruments are to be met with exclusively for the purpose of song accompaniment, and only the guimbarde (*utete*) and the nose flute (*fu'aili*) are played by themselves. As far as solo songs are concerned (which are dealt with in Chapter 4), the Samoans have only the *tagi*, which are interpolated into the spoken tales (*fagogo*), the invocations of the medicine men (when someone has fallen sick *mo'omo'o*, *fe'e*, *osofa* and *ila*), and, finally, the cradle songs. In his examination of the Samoan songs sung in chorus, which comprise the major proportion of the entire repertoire, Moyle differentiates between those which are sung in unison or chiefly so (dealt with in Chapter 5), those that are responsorial (in Chapter 6), those that are responsorial and combined with dance (in Chapter 7), and those that are polyphonic (in Chapter 8) and whose characteristics from the point of view of form, text, rhythm, scales, melody, key and cadences are summarized in Chapter 9.

The songs in unison of the adults (there are also a considerable number of such songs for children) are to be heard during sporting activities or the playing of games; in addition to these, there exist mocking and tattooing songs which are characterized by an eight-fold pattern that is performed with varying rhythms at, for the most part, two or three different pitches with many tonal repetitions. There is, unquestionably, a far greater number of responsorial songs without dance. They can be divided up into those invoking the spirits of the dead, various kinds of burial songs (*'auala*), paddlers' songs, war songs, the delivery of ceremonial poems (*o'le solo*), acts of homage to nourishment (*ta'alolo*), wedding songs (*tini*), prize songs (*vi'i*), story songs (*tala'aga*) and working songs, all of which, without exception, are pitched at only two levels with an interval of a fourth between them, although this is occasionally extended to a fifth and can be furnished with diatonic intervals. The alternation between the song leader (*usu*) and choir (*tali*) occurs at regular intervals, with the possibility that the choral endings also consist of several texts. In respect of the responsorial dance songs, both Augustin Krämer and Mieczslaw Kolinski had already differentiated between standing dances (during which the dancers themselves sing) and sitting dances (during which a choir sings while sitting in a circle around the dancers) (Krämer 1902-3, Kolinski 1930). These vocal works, mostly of a humorous nature, resemble the responsorial songs without dance except that they are of considerably larger dimensions. In the case of those dance songs that are now obsolete, such as the *ula*, there was a refrain, which was repeated again and again and which, like the dance movements themselves (these being obscene and therefore forbidden by the missionaries), were performed at a pace that grew faster and faster. A recording of such a performance from the year 1910 is to be found as the fifth piece on the previously mentioned disc. Whereas all the vocal genres mentioned above are, in principle, monophonic, although occasionally paraphonic (songs sung at intervals of parallel fourths or fifths), it is possible, in more recent recordings, at least since the nineteen sixties, to detect very considerable European influence. The choral response is now completely based on triadic harmony. What still remains, however, in these musical "compositions" based in principle on unaltered texts, are the regular alternation of rhythmically independent lead singer and choral support, together with typical musical features such as the concluding glissando or the two tonal centres at intervals of a fourth. As is always the case in the music of cultures with no written tradition, it is extremely difficult to bring matters down to a common denominator; Moyle's book provides clear proof of the fact that even the music of Samoa, despite the standardization inflicted on certain genres, is still of a diversity that is extraordinary in the extreme.

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Felix Hoerburger. Volksmusikforschung. Aufsätze und Vorträge 1953-1984 über Volkstanz und instrumentale Volksmusik. Zum 70. Geburtstag des Verfassers am 9. Dezember 1986 herausgegeben von Hans Eichiner und Thomas Emmerig. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 1986, 320 pp., mus. transcr., illustrations, charts, index.

The collection of 29 papers is divided into two basic parts: "The Folk Dance and Research into Folk Dancing" and "Instrumental Folk Music." The editors of the collection have brought their expertise to bear in choosing and sorting Hoerburger's works, with the clear intention of presenting, step by step, his principal starting points and basic attitudes.

In the first article of the first part (originally published in the well-known musical encyclopaedia "Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart" [Vol. 13, 1966]), Hoerburger classifies folk dances into cult dances, dances which individuals show to others, and social dances. The three types of dance mentioned are found: (a) in authentic tradition, (b) as the result of revival and conscious nurturing of traditional folk dances, (c) as more developed and specially arranged dances, and (d) as newly-composed dances.

In the same group of works, the author considers the Bavarian *Zwiefachen*, where three-beat measure interchanges with two- and four-beat measure, the *Ländler* dance, graphic illustration of dancing and notation of dance, forms of dance and giving of form to dancing. In the excellent "Observations concerning Folk Dances in Northern Greece" (published in 1966), he speaks of having himself observed when children of a very early age attended the dances of their elders and tried to mimic their movements. Later, as somewhat older children, they are gradually initiated through games into the local style of movement in dance and gain a broad idea of dancing as practiced in their environment. It is only after this that they devote themselves to the defined elements of dance (e.g. steps) and become conscious of them. The author emphasizes that this order of adoption of the definite forms of individual dances is quite the opposite to that order used when dances are being learnt in formally organized groups nurturing traditional folk dances. In this latter case, first the steps of the dance are learnt, and only after that is the style of dancing mastered.

In the article "Dance 'Against' the Music" Hoerburger refers solely to folk dances and musical material from Kosovo and Macedonia (Yugoslavia) when dealing with examples in which dance movements unfold in completely differing metro-rhythmical patterns to those in the musical accompaniment to the dance. In "The Sword and the Drum as Props for Dance" the author emphasizes the dual role of the Macedonian drummer. He not only performs the musical accompaniment to the dance, but also dances himself, particularly when changing the position in which the drum is being held. In the central regions of the Balkan peninsula, the dancing drummer is often circled by the dancers, and Hoerburger finds elements of magical ritual in this custom.

The second group of articles is dedicated to traditional instrumental folk music. The first paper bears an intriguing title: "What is Folk Music?" (originally published in 1973). It puts forward a number of laws which Hoerburger established in the life and structural forms of folk music. He points out that this music can be identified only if it bears a number of characteristics and never merely by a single characteristic. While listing individual characteristics he also points out opposing traits. Two such examples are given below.

Oral transmission is one of the basic characteristics of folk music, but village musicians in Germany play an instrumental melody from their single-part (often manuscripted) notes. These notes serve mainly as a guide, an *aide memoire* in performing folk music. According to Hoerburger, individual formulae in melodic cadence are, in fact, "sound visiting cards" of these players. The author writes about this in more detail in "Handwritten Books of Music by Bavarian Village Musicians." The role of oral transmission as a folk characteristic is lessened by the fact that in certain highly developed non-European musical cultures, performances by professional musical artists also do not exist in written form. Music-making skills and compositions of individual composers are transmitted orally.

It is often with complete justification that professional musicians are associated with art music, but Hoerburger draws attention to Gypsies, who, as professional players, perform traditional folk music on the *zurna*, a double-reed wind instrument, and on the drum, both in the Balkans and in Turkey. On the other hand he also mentions amateurs in Europe, who, for example, play the works of F. Schubert and F. Chopin.

Although he does not attempt a definition of folk music, Hoerburger groups the characteristics of traditional folk music along with the questions: what, how, why and in relation to what is something played or sung. The first question is not of great importance to the author, but the second and the third question are important in determining the characteristics of folk music. Through this attitude (held in 1973!), he was very close to opinions now current, that folk music is determined primarily by the ways of its life.

Of remaining topics within the second group, three papers on playing the *zurna* can be specified: "Playing the *Zurna* in Greece – Diffusion and (Current) State," "Observations concerning the Practice of Improvisation by *Zurna* Players" and "Diffusion of the Oriental Folk Oboe (the *Zurna*) throughout the World." He analyzed long-playing tapes and laid down certain principles in the shaping of instrumental folk music structure. Of three works on this theme mention could be made of "Music at Village Weddings in the Southern Balkans," including forms of drone in Greek folk music. The matter of the drone also appears in the concluding papers in the collection with very interesting articles dealing with musical styles in Afghanistan and their overlapping, the long-necked lute in Afghanistan, and two articles on Chinese national folk instruments, demonstrating the breadth of the field of research which Hoerburger set himself.

The collection provides a bibliography of Hoerburger's scholarly works, papers from lexicographical editions, reviews, films and gramophone records, followed by literary works in the Bavarian dialect, and a register of objects and personal names.

Jerko Bezić

Record Reviews

***Netsurui no pansori "Chinsei-ka"-Kankoku katari-gei no kyokuchi. Pansori/Simchong-ga* - The Ideal of Korea Epic Vocal Art. Song: Jung Jung Min [Chŏn Chŏng-min]; puk: Park Jong Sun [Pak Chong-sŏn]. Recorded at JVC Aoyama Studio (Tokyo), 29 June 1988. Digital recording by DAS. Commentary in Japanese by Fujimoto Juichi and in English by Kwon Oh Sung. One compact disc. Japan Victor Corp. VDP-1362. Ethnic Sound Series 24. 1988. Photos.**

With their wide-ranging approach to monographic and audio-visual documentation, Japanese publishing companies and record firms have, in recent years, been setting remarkable new standards, even in the sphere of ethnomusicology. To mention only the latest examples of this new, extensive approach, we have: the compilation of essays *"Iwanami kōza: Nihon no ongaku. Ajia no ongaku,"* which in nine voluminous volumes and two attached CDs provides a comprehensive survey of the musical cultures of Asia (cf. Gamō 1988-89), as well as the "Audio Visual Anthology of World Music," edited by the Japan Victor Corporation and which, by means of thirty video tapes or, alternatively, sixteen video discs and two comprehensively annotated handbooks, provides a documentation of over five-hundred presentations of traditional music from more than a hundred different countries (cf. Fujii 1987). Since 1986, The Japan Victor Corporation has, in a similar manner, been building up an equally remarkable CD series – one that, in the meantime, already comprises forty issues brought out under the somewhat sensationalistic title "Ethnic Sound Series" – based on studio and field recordings of Japanese ethnomusicologists. In the foregoing records of traditional music from various cultures, the works chosen are authentic and presented, for the most part, completely unabridged, the technical quality being of the highest level. Up to the time of writing, six CDs covering traditional music from Korea have been brought out: one with solo music for the *kayagŭm* zither, one with popular *shinawi* ensemble music, one with music played by the percussion ensemble *samul-nori,* two with Korean folksongs, as well as one with the presentation of a *p'ansori* epic song. This last-named publication, which appeared in 1988 as no. 24 in the series, will be discussed in more detail in the following.

The recording in question is – as far as is known – the first and, up till now, the only one of a *p'ansori* produced outside Korea to which the whole of an LP or CD respectively has been devoted. It comprises a continuous excerpt of approximately 53 minutes from *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga"* ("Song of the Girl Shim Ch'ŏng"), one of the five *p'ansori* repertoire pieces the full performances of which can last respectively about five to six hours (in some cases even longer).

The remarkable thing about this publication is, too, that a yet relatively unknown singer from the younger generation has been chosen for the recording rather than one of the more noted *p'ansori* singers from the category of so-called *chung'yo muhyŏng munhwajae* ("Important Intangible Cultural Asset").

The *p'ansori* singer Jung Jung Min [Chŏn Chŏng-min], born in Kumsan (South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province) in 1953, received her first singing lessons from Hong Chŏng-taek, studied after this under Pak Ch'ŏ-wŏl (1913-1982) who together with the singer O Chŏng-suk (born in 1933), belonged to the so-called "East School" of the *p'ansori* tradition. After years of self-denial forced upon her by the rigorous training involved, she finally, in 1982, won the first prize of the *p'ansori* competition at the Shilla Cultural Festival in Kyŏngju, and then, in 1984, was once more awarded first prize at the *p'ansori* competition in Chŏnju. Since the award of these two prizes, she has successfully continued her career with *p'ansori* performances both at home and abroad.

The somewhat rough tone of her voice possesses that quality characterized in the Korean language as *suri-sŏng.* It will probably strike the European ear as somewhat strange, but for the connoisseur of *p'ansori* vocal music, it is esteemed as the ideal of what a "beautiful singing voice" should be. In such a view, the slightly turbid quality of such a voice possesses more expressiveness than one that is smoother and purer.

The version of the *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga"* text to be heard on this CD recording reveals considerable similarity with that of Chŏng Kwŏn-jin (1927-1985). Thus Chŏn Chŏng-min also seems to be continuing the tradition of the so-called *Posŏng-sori,* one of the two stylistic trends of the "West School."

In *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga,"* the story is told of a girl by the name of Shim Ch'ŏng, the only daughter, later in life, of Shim Hak-kyu. This man came originally from a distinguished *yangban* family, but who, however, since he was twenty, has been blind and impoverished. His wife, called Mrs. Kwak who had provided for their means of subsistence, died shortly after the birth of the daughter, thus leaving Shim Hak-kyu, now a helpless beggar, to bring up the daughter alone. In order to regain his sight, he rashly makes a vow to donate three hundred sacks of rice to a Buddhist temple. However, he simply does not possess the financial means to carry this out, and for this reason he secretly sells his daughter, now a young woman, for an equivalent sum of money to seafarers who, in accordance with an ancient custom, are looking for a virgin in order to bring her to the Dragon-King of the sea and this way to appease him. Shim Ch'ŏng is, however, miraculously rescued, marries the prince and becomes the queen of the country. In the end, father and daughter are happily re-united and, as a reward for the sacrifice made by his loyal daughter, Shim Hak-kyu regains his sight.

On those occasions when only an abbreviated version of *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga"* is presented on the stage or on a recording, it is usually the middle section of the tale (which provides a description of how the girl goes off with the seafarers and, in the Indangsu sea, offers herself as a sacrificial victim of the Dragon-King) or the concluding scenes (in which father and daughter are happily brought together again) which are chosen. It is above all the section beginning with the vocal passage *pŏm-p'i-jung-lyu*, one which can be considered the musical and dramatic climax of the tale, that is all too often preferred by singers when presenting an abbreviated version.

For this reason, then, it would seem somewhat unusual that the singer in the recording under discussion avoids – possibly deliberately? – the well-known and well-tried sections from *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga."* Her performance concentrates on the beginning of the tale and ends at that point where the girl Shim Ch'ŏng has become old enough to begin providing a livelihood for the father by begging.

The story begins with an atmosphere of mystery, veiled in the dense mist of Korean shamanism: childlessness as a mark of fate, allusive dreams during pregnancy, the birth of a child – a birth blessed by the "Three Divinities" (*samsin*), etc. The presentation becomes musically interesting at the point, on the seventh day after giving birth to her daughter, Mrs. Kwak dies. In the following sections, which can be considered the saddest vocal passage in any of the five *p'ansori* works in the repertoire, the phenomenon of "death" and the Korean conception of all that it means is expounded in striking fashion. The predominating rich chromaticism of the *kyemyŏnjo* melodies, that unite with the more tranquil *chinyang*, *chungmori* and *chungjungmori* rhythms, contributes for its part of the elegiac mood of these sections whose text already exudes a deep sadness.

Without a doubt, this passage reaches a musical and literary climax with the "Songs of the Pall-Bearers" (*sangdusori* or *sangyŏsori*) in which the Korean view of death as an unavoidable fate is briefly but illuminatingly expressed.

> The bells [ringing on the hearse]
> tdänggulang tdänggulang tdänggulang ...
>   ŏnŏmch'a nŏwhanŏm,
>
> It says that the path to the realm of death is long,
> But that the mountain opposite is already the hereafter!
>   ŏnŏmch'a nŏwhanŏm ....
> (...)
> Ye friends, listen to me:
> If you die, you go along this road,
> If I die, I, too, go along this road!
>   ŏnŏmch'a nŏwhanŏm,
> How shall we succeed [in covering the long way
> through the mountains to our tomb]?
>   ŏnŏm ŏnŏmch'a, ŏigarinŏmch'anŏwanŏm."

Such "funeral songs" were originally working songs which where sung by the pall-bearers as they carried the coffin to the grave. In the course of time, they found a place – as did other folk melodies, too – in *p'ansori* as "interpolated songs." They are also to be found both as a part of the ritual music of shamanism (for example, in the *Ssikkim-kut*), and among folk-song melodies. In this respect, it is interesting to note that *sangdusori* as folk songs are almost entirely imbued with the Buddhist concept of life after death, whereas the corresponding songs that occur in the *p'ansori* exclusively reflect the shamanistic conception of the hereafter.

P'ansori singers have confirmed that the presentation of these excerpts demands the full employment of all musical accomplishments: the efficient shaping of "rhythm" (*changdan*) and melody, a multifariously modulating pitch level, as well as precise, microtonal grace notes. Only those singers who have at their disposal the adequate confidence and artistic maturity are able to attain the necessary mastery of presentation. In the recording under discussion, Chŏn Chŏng-min has succeeded in giving a masterly interpretation of these pall-bearer songs. In doing so, she has shown that she has the skill to combine the *kyemyŏnjo* melodies of the Chŏlla Province with the *menarijo* melodies of the Kyŏngsang or Ch'ungch'ŏng Provinces, thus adding to the expressiveness of her presentation.

Less convincing – and this is but a minor criticism – is the presentation of the spoken passages (*anin*) which connect the various vocal excerpts with each other. In these passages, the voice of Chŏn Chŏng-min – despite its magically attractive *suri-sŏng* qualities – creates a somewhat feeble impression. It is as if she were quietly reading to us from a book of fairy tales. This makes it rather difficult for the listener to devote close attention to the subsequent vocal excerpts.

It is true that the tonal quality of the digital recording is, on the whole, excellent, but the balance between the two sources of sound (i.e. song and accompaniment) leaves more than a little to be desired: the sound of the drums and the characteristic cries (*ch'uimsae*) of the drummer – the performer is Park Jong Sun [Pak Chong-sŏn] – do not come over loudly enough on the recording. The sound technicians seem to have concentrated exclusively on the singer and, in doing so, to have largely neglected the drum accompaniment which, however, in accordance with the importance of its musical function within the presentation, should have been taken into greater consideration.

The CD has been issued together with an eight page brochure containing an introductory commentary by Fujimoto Juichi in Japanese, and by Kwon Oh Sung [Kwŏn O-sŏng] in English. The Japanese commentary gives an all too brief outline of the history of *p'ansori* and the presentation techniques involved, as well as a short but for all that informative summary of the content of *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga."* The English commentary contents itself with a few aphoristic observations in respect of the genre *p'ansori* which (for those who have no knowledge of Japanese) will be of barely any use to the readers and listeners of the recording, the more so as the author does not even attempt to alucidate certain musical characteristics of *p'ansori* in relation to *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga"* but, instead, to "*Ch'unhyang-ga*(!)," another famous work in the *p'ansori* repertoire.

It is to be greatly regretted that with this publication – and it is a weak point in the whole of the Ethnic Sound Series – the opportunity has not been taken to include with the recording a comprehensive commentary as well as a translation of the text of those excerpts from *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga"* chosen for performance. Without such an annotated translation of the text and comprehensive information about the aesthetics and the artistic principles of *p'ansori*, it would, for non-Koreans, hardly be possible to gain an adequate insight into this special form of epic vocal art and the richness of its musical and literary expressiveness, beyond the simple fascination of exotic sound patterns. Without a doubt, it is the limited format of the CD, which the annoted commentary had to accomodate itself to, that makes it impossible to provide – as would be desirable – a well-founded scholarly and graphically attractive presentation of the text documentation of the recording.[1]

Despite the above-mentioned shortcomings, I still feel that the publication under discussion can be designated as a welcome addition to the available recordings of traditional Korean music. Above all, the young singer deserves the highest appreciation for interpreting the exacting sections she has chosen from *"Shim-Ch'ŏng-ga"* with such remarkable technical and artistic mastery.

Chung Kyo-Chul
(in collaboration with Heinz-Dieter Reese)

Notes

[1] In the new record series "Traditional Music of the World" that is being brought out by the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation, Berlin, together with the International Council for Traditional Music, New York, there is in preparation a comparable *p'ansori* publication, likewise a recording of "Shim-Chŏng-ga" with the singer O Chŏng-suk, in which the attempt is being made to meet these demands by providing a comprehensive and informative commentary together with the recording. Cf. Reese [forthc].

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Gamō, Satoaki *et al.* (ed.)
1988-89 *Iwanami kōza: Nihon no ongaku* ["Iwanami Lecture Series: The Music of Japan – the Music of Asia"]. 7 vols. + 2 special vols. with 1 CD (70') each. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Fujii, Tomoaki (ed.)
1987 *Ne to eizō ni yoru: Sekai minzoku ongaku taikei/An Audio Visual Anthology of World Music.* Tokyo: Japan Victor Corp. – An English-language version. *The JVC Video Anthology of World Music and Dance.* Anthony Seeger *et al.*, ed. in collaboration with Smithsonian/Folkways Records, and distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Rounder Records will be available July 1, 1990.

Reese, Heinz-Dieter
[forthc] *Korea. P'ansori.* Compact Disc with accompagnying booklet. Traditional Music of the World 3 Kassel: Disco Center/Musicaphon BMU-CD 505803 DDD.

Azerbaijan Traditional Music. Recordings by Jean During & Eldar Mansurov. Commentary by Jean During. Collection du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et du Musée de l'Homme, Paris. One compact disc. Le Chant du Monde, LDX 274901 CM 251. Commentary in English and French. Drawings, map.

Alem Kassimov 1 Mugam d'Azerbaidjan. Recordings by Pierre Simonin. Commentary by Pierre Bois. Collection of the Maison des Cultures du Monde, Paris. One compact disc. 1989. Inedit Auvidis W260012. Commentary in English and French. Mus. ex., photos.

These two compact discs present a selection from the *mugam* repertoire of Azerbaijan in the USSR. The pieces have been chosen in such a way as to provide the listener with an impression of this characteristic musical form of the *mugam* of western Asia as found in Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijan *mugam* repertoire comprises twelve main *mugam* and a number of subsidiary forms. Whereas the recordings on the CD "Azerbaijan Traditional Music" take in eleven examples from the *mugam* repertoire (the shortest one lasts 3'41", the longest 9'34"), the CD "Alem Kassimov" is made up of two complete *mugam* performances: the first lasts 41'36" and the second 30'33". The editors have been extremely circumspect in their selection both of the *mugam* examples and of their interpreters. Both compact discs have, for this reason, succeeded not only in presenting a suitable selection of the rich musical repertoire of the *mugam* in Azerbaijan, but also in enabling the listener to infiltrate the world of the refined monodic thought of the people of Azerbaijan. The technical and artistic qualities of both the CD's are excellent.

The Azerbaijan *mugam* harbours within itself an improvisational element that demands considerable creative ability of the interpreter. This is the reason why the *mugam* singers (*khanande*), both male and female, as well as the *mugam* instrumentalists (*sazande*), also of both sexes, are called the creators of the *mugam*. This is, too, the reason why one and the same *mugam* can be formed differently by each creator at each performance. Each master performer has, therefore, his own special repertoire. For it is a fact that each performance of a *mugam* is thought out and created anew, is newly paraphrased, provided that the creator is a master of his or her craft.

The CD "Azerbaijan Traditional Music" begins with the *karabagh shekastesi*, a piece in strict metre presented in the style of the folk singers of

Azerbaijan (*ashuq*), sung by Z. Kuliev and accompanied by Habil Aliev on the *kamanche* (spike fiddle) and an unnamed instrumentalist on the *naqqare* (drums). Six further pieces introduce five instrumental *mugam* performances played by Elkhan Mansurov, Habib Bayramov and Bahram Mansurov on the *tar* (a long-necked lute) and Habil Aliev on the *kamanche* (spike fiddle). Three excerpts from three vocal *mugam* performances are sung by the phenomenal *khanande* Alim Kasimov, to whom the Maison des Cultures du Mondes in Paris has devoted a whole compact disc of "Mugam d'Azerbaïjan." Thus, on the CD "Azerbaijan Traditional Music" we find the following *mugam*: *esfahan*, *mahur-e hindi*, *dilkash-kurdi*, *rast*, *arzabare*, *mansuri*, *shushtar*, *osmanli* and *ovshar*. Each piece is given a short commentary and notes on the interval structure of each *mugam* scale. All the pieces guarantee an excellent artistic and aesthetic standard, with particular praise being reserved for the performances of the *khanande* Alim Kasimov (the singer) and of the *sazande* Bahram Mansurov (long-necked lute). If one compares the execution of the *mugam: mahur-e hindi* by Elkhan Mansurov on this CD with that of his father Bahram Mansurov from the 1960s (Musicaphon CM 30 L 2024) and from the 1970s (Philips 6586 027), it is clearly apparent that the young Elkhan has learnt the instrumental technique from his father to a highly efficient degree, thus taking over the *mugam* tradition in the best possible manner. In this way, the continuity of the *mugam* tradition in Azerbaijan, as had been practised by the great Bahram Mansurov, has been guaranteed. This is also true of this CD's other young instrumentalists who are continuing to propagate the great original *mugam* tradition of the music of western Asia.

The CD "Azerbaijan Traditional Music" has been provided with a detailed commentary in English and French. After an introduction to the history of Azerbaijan, the author, Jean During, discusses the musical culture of the people of Azerbaijan, attempting to define this musical culture thus: "The Azerbaijanis are a product of Iranian and Turkish intermingling ... ." When referring to the phenomenon of *mugam*, During, with extreme caution, expresses his opinion as follows:

> The classical tradition, or muqam, belongs to the tradition of the Iranian-Arab-Turkish maqam in the widest sense. It would appear to be the outcome of the synthesis of Arab, Persian and perhaps Byzantine trends evolved from the ninth to the eleventh centuries in Baghdad ....

Be that as it may, the *mugam* is a unique musical phenomenon in the cultures of the countries of western Asia: the Turks call it *makam*, the Persians *dastgah*, the Tadzhiks and Uzbeks *makom*, the Arabs of the Mashriq call it *maqam*, and the north African Arabs *tab'*. In all these cultures, we are dealing with the creation of sound patterns produced by a sound-spatial model that is realized either instrumentally, vocally, or in both ways at the same time. Such a creation of sound patterns is, in most cases, not of a metrical nature (e.g. the Arabian *taqsim*, the Azerbaijani *mugam*, or the Iranian *awaz*); however, it can also exhibit the characteristics of a fixed metrical structure (e.g. the Uzbek-Tadzhik *makom*, the north African *nuba*, and the Iranian and Azerbaijani *tesnif*). The characteristic quality of this *mugam*, *makom*, *makam* or *maqam* phenomenon is its fixed tonal-spatial organisation, one that identifies each *mugam* and that can be reduced down to one characteristic nuclear cell. That is the reason why the *mugam* can be considered as the monodic creation in sound patterns of the nuclear cell, more precisely of the tonal-spatial model. In such a realization of the creation in sound patterns of the tonal-spatial model, the singer or instrumentalist, whether male or female, strives for a climax within sound-spatial limits. This climax, which is simultaneously the highest tonal level reached in the performance of the *mugam*, can be regarded as the actual goal of each *mugam* performance.

In his commentary, During explains the system of Azerbaijani art music, and attempts to differentiate this non-tempered tonal system from that of the Arabs, Turks and Persians by stating that "the system departs from Middle Eastern patterns in that it lacks three quarter tone intervals... ." This observation is, unfortunately, false, because there are no three quarter tone intervals in the Arabian, Turkish or Persian tonal systems, unless one accepts the hypothetical statements of the scholars, and their wishes as expressed in their theoretical discourses. In practice, the musician identifies an oscillating interval which is smaller than a large second and greater than a small second – approximately +/- 150 cents. An interval of a three quarter tone had its origins in the desire of some musical scholars who would like to have seen the Arabian and Turkish tonal systems tempered by dividing, theoretically, the octave into twenty-four equal intervals, in other words twenty-four quarter tones. In his explanation of the tonal system involved, During makes use of the measuring unit *comma* without, however, identifying this *comma*. It would, in fact, be a question of either a Pythagorean *comma* (23·46 cents), a syntonic *comma* (21·306 cents), or an Arabian one (22·6415 cents). During concludes his commentary with further explanations in connection with "repertoire," "rhythm," the musical instruments, and the musicians involved in the recordings, enclosing a map as well as sketches of the instruments used in the recordings. They are an aid to a better understanding of During's introduction to the wonders of this musical culture. Those desiring a more comprehensive introduction to the same are recommended to a reading of Jean During's publication: "La musique traditionelle de l'Azerbayjan et la science des muqams" (During 1988).

The compact disc "Alem Kassimov. Mugam d'Azerbaïdjan" comprises two *mugam*: *chargah* and *bayati shiraz* which are performed by the *khanande* Alem Kassimov who at the same time, during the performance, beats the frame drum *daf* with tinkling metal rings which are fixed to the inside of the frame. He is accompanied by the two *sazande*, Elkhan Mansurov on the *tar* (long-necked lute) and Malik Mansurov on the *kamanche* (spike fiddle). Both of the *mugam* belong to the classical twelve chief *mugam* of Azerbaijan. At the beginning of the *chargah* and of the *bayati shiraz*, the three musicians play an introductory piece in 6/8 time, followed by the *bardascht*, a free improvisation of the *tar* player. As soon as the vocal part begins, the *kamanche* and *tar* players allow the singer to take the lead, following his voice and improvising the introductory and concluding phrases. Exhibiting considerable virtuosity, they imitate the melodic line of the singer. Within a short time, the three musicians succeed in bringing the various pitch levels into an adroit contrast with one another, with the highest of these pitch levels appearing, as a rule, at the end of the *mugam*, it serving as the final augmentation. In the development section of the *mugam*, the tonal levels alternate with the *tesnif* and *reng* melodies. These are metrically fixed melodies, performed by the three musicians in ensemble. When heard against the unmeasured melodic line of the singer, they generate a tremendous sense of excitement.

The performances of Kassimov, are a reminder of the unforgettable *mugam* performances of the legendary Khan Schuschinski (Musicaphon BM 3 = L 2024) during the 1960s. As in the case of Schuschinski, it is only necessary to actually listen to Kassimov. Basically, he and his two accompanists require no introduction. For even the uninitiated will, within the first moments of listening, immediately become aware of the phenomenally high quality of this singer's voice and the originality of the *mugam*. The logical structure of this *mugam* will, within a very short time, become so clear that the listener, without resistance, allows himself to be absorbed into this world of exquisitely contrasted melodic lines. The structural outlines of the *mugam* are based, in fact, on four contrasting elements that alternately emerge and submerge: two in the tonal-spatial parameter: high opposed to low pitch levels; two in the rhythmic-temporal parameter: a free metrical system in contrast with fixed metrical melodic lines. In this respect, it must be pointed out that the discrete timbre of the *tar* and *kamanche*, as well as the delicate beats of the *daf* combined with the broad range of Alim Kassimov's voice, together contribute an additional element to the perfecting of this aesthetic creation, the *mugam*.

This CD, too, is accompanied by a commentary in English and French. The commentary by Pierre Bois contains short analyses of both the *mugam* as well as a brief introduction to the musical culture of Azerbaijan.

Both compact discs are strongly recommended to all those who wish to enjoy the examples recorded from the splendid, lively and authentic musical repertoire of Azerbaijan. We are deeply indebted to the editors Hugo Zemp and Françoise Gründ, the commentators During and Bois, and, last but by no means least, the musicians themselves, who together have made it possible to obtain so much pleasure listening to these *mugam* from Azerbaijan.

Habib Hassan Touma

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Reports and Information

Institutions in the Field of Ethnomusicology Introduce Themselves (XI)

The Department of Ethnomusicology at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin

The Department of Ethnomusicology was founded in 1900 by Carl Stumpf as "Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv." At that time it was part of the Institute of Psychology at the University of Berlin. In 1905 Erich Moritz von Hornbostel was appointed as director of the archives which soon became the centre of the German School for Comparative Musicology. After World War I it was administratively attached to the "Staatliche Hochschule für Musik." In 1933 E. M. von Hornbostel was dismissed by the Nazis from his teaching and archiving positions. He left Germany. In 1934 the archives became a department of the Ethnographical Museum under the direction of Marius Schneider. The collection of Edison-Phonographs had surmounted the number of 10.000 recordings.

After World War II it was the merit of Kurt Reinhard to start with the reconstruction of the archives. In 1963 Kurt Reinhard changed the name with its great tradition to "Musikethnologische Abteilung." From 1968 to 1972 Dieter Christensen was head of the Department. Since 1972 it is directed by Artur Simon.

The Old Collection of Edison Phonographs

Up to 1938 about 10.300 recordings on wax cylinders were archived. Most of these recordings had been copied on copper galvanos (positive copies). The regional distribution was:

Africa (42,7%)
Asia (18,4%)
Oceania (14,6%)
Europe (12,6%) and
America (11,7%).

During and after World War II about 90% of the collection went through an odyssey to the Soviet Union which finally ended up in East Berlin where it was deposited and locked up until this year. In the sixties several efforts between Kurt Reinhard and Erich Stockmann to copy the whole collection on tapes were stopped and finally prevented by the East German authorities.

As a result of the exciting new developments and radical changes in Germany the collection will be reunified and brought back to our archives within this year after an absence of more than 45 years.

The recordings are most valuable documents for the cultural history of those countries where they had been made. On the other hand, together with the great number of articles which were based on them, they are part of the history of our discipline (v. Hornbostel 1933; Christensen 1970:7; Simon 1973:368).

The Modern Archives of the Department

In 1951 the first commercial tape recorder was bought and in the same year the first tape collection came into the archives. Field research began in 1955 when Reinhard started for his first recording trip to Turkey with a battery-tape recorder Butoba D6 (recordings M 40-382). As a result of sixteen research trips carried out by Kurt and Ursula Reinhard, Turkey became one of the best documented main fields of the Department. A representative sample of these recordings were published on the double record "Music from Turkey" within our record series "Museum Collection Berlin" (U. Reinhard 1985) and on two cassettes which belong to a book on Turkish folk singers (U. Reinhard & Oliveira Pinto 1989). Research activities of Dieter Christensen – at that time research assistant at the Department – focussed on Yugoslavia (Macedonia, Hercegovina) and Kurdish populations in Turkey and Iran. A very active collector was Wolfgang Laade, another student of Reinhard, who made numerous recordings on Corsica and – together with Christensen – with Lapplanders in Norwegia before starting for an intensive field research on the Torres Straits Islands. Many external researchers contributed to the archives so that the amount of the collection reached more than 20.000 tape recordings at the beginning of 1972.

The areas of field research were extended continuously by my own activities which began in Egypt, followed by several research projects in the Sudan (1973/74, 1980, 1982, 1983). For the first time a survey on the musical culture of the Nubians in northern Sudan was carried out and published within our record series (Simon 1980). In 1975/76 the Department took part in the interdisciplinary research project "Man, Culture and Environment in the Central Highlands of West-New Guinea" focussing on the Mek Mountain-Papua whose culture at the outset of fieldwork in 1974 (especially with regard to tools and technology) was comparable to that of neolithic times and, above all, completely unknown to us (Simon 1990). Between 1976 and 1981 another main field of research was the musical culture and old religious ceremonies of the Batak (Northern Sumatra, Indonesia) which resulted in a large collection of tape recordings, 16 films (Simon 1988) and a number of publications (Simon 1984, 1987 *et al.*).

In the 70s and 80s the sub-Saharan music of Africa became more and more a centre of the archives' activities. The African collections could be enlarged by own recordings (Sudan, Togo, Nigeria, Kamerun) as well as by substantial collections of external researchers from Ethiopia (Strecker), Ivory Coast (Förster) and by the cooperation with Gerhard Kubik which led to several publications within our record series and book publications (Strecker 1979, Förster 1987, Kubik 1981, 1989, Simon 1983).

In 1987 the Department started a project of cultural cooperation together with the University of Maiduguri in Borno, northeastern Nigeria (Simon 1990). This "Borno Music Documentation Project" aimed at a documentary survey of the different traditions (thirty autochthonous language groups) of music and dance of Borno. An extensive collection of sound and video recordings was envisaged which as far as possible should be documented in all details. The second aim of the project was the arrangement of a collection of musical instruments for the University of Maiduguri. All recordings were archived in the University of Maiduguri and the Berlin archives. The Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany which is in charge of projects of urgent cultural aid covered the financial side. The largest part of the fieldwork in Borno which lasted up to the end of 1989 was carried out by Raimund Vogels who at that time was our research assistant. Further studies in Borno are in the planning stage.

In March 1987 Veit Erlmann joined the staff as museum assistant for two years. Due to his activities the stock of African recordings (tapes and records) could be further enlarged. A publication on popular music of Africa, arranged and edited by him, is now in print.

In July 1987, the Department was fortunate enough to purchase a Compaq Deskpro 386 computer. Since October 1987 Bruno Reuer has been busy working on a database on the recorded items in the Department's holdings which will surmount the number of 100.000 after the return of the old pre-war recordings (Edison Phonographs, tape recordings and commercial records altogether). Compared with 1967 the increase of recordings will be about 382%! This should give us a lot of satisfaction. The completely discouraging reality, however, is the great discrepancy with the totally insufficient number of permanent staff members. Absolutely no interest for a substantial improvement can be seen within the larger institution the Department is a part of.

The Collection of Musical Instruments

The Museum of Ethnography owns a collection of about 6500 musical instruments which are scattered over the regional departments and the Department of Ethnomusicology. Curt Sachs was the first scholar who got interested in this fascinating collection (cf. Sachs 1914/ ²1923). We all know that most of the ethnographers and anthropologists do not favour ethnomusicology or musical instruments. Therefore, most of the ethnographic holdings of musical instruments had not been collected systematically. This was the reason why the Department of Ethnomusicology started to collect musical instruments under ethnomusicological criteria since 1972. The first 38 instruments were acquired in 1963 by Reinhard on his Turkish field trips. In 1972 the number of instruments was 113 and in 1990 it reached 1053. Among these are complete southeast Asian ensembles from central and west Java, Bali, Burma and the Philippines as well as complete sets of xylophones from Africa (Kamerun, Ivory Coast). There is an agreement with the direction of the museum that also those instruments being in the other departments should be scientifically supervised by the Department of Ethnomusicology. As a result the first catalogue was published on African string instruments by Ulrich Wegner in 1984 who at that time had joined the staff as museum assistant for two years (Wegner 1984). The collection of south and southeast Asian string instruments was carefully restored and catalogued since 1987 for two years by Norbert Beyer. A catalogue is in preparation.

Due to these very limited possibilities and restrictive conditions the Department has to live with this wonderful collection of musical instruments being neither exhibited nor taken care of by an ethnomusicologist. Due to lack of space it is not accessible for anybody not belonging to the staff. An extremely limited selection is shown to school classes by advanced students or doctorate candidates within introductory courses on organology.

Publications

As the Department is a scientific institution many results of its research activities are published within journals and books outside the Department in external publications. The Department itself has established a record series ("Museum Collection of Berlin") with presently 15 publications. The aim of this series is to present representative examples of important collections of the archives according to special thematic topics. This is accompanied by a substantial documentation which fits into a high scholarly standard.

Besides this, a series of book publications includes also the collection of musical instruments. These books are always accompanied by sound examples on cassettes or CD.

Concert Activities

Since 1973 the Department carries out concerts with traditional and contemporary music. As the budget is very limited it is not possible to join in the usual concert business. Therefore the cooperation with more potent partners has always been a desirable alternative. Some of these concerts resulted in remarkable recordings for the archives which in some cases could be published within our record series as "Music for Ch'in" (Liang 1977) or "Music for Vina" (Srinivasan 1980) with Rajeswari Padmanabhan, her brother Subramanian and Upendran. Another highlight was the invitation of Evaristo Muyinda, the famous old court musician from Buganda and informant of Klaus Wachsmann, in 1983 and 1984 for concerts in the museum.

Artur Simon

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The VIIth European Seminar in Ethnomusicology October 1 – 6 1990 in Berlin

The VIIth European Seminar in Ethnomusicology was held in Berlin from October 1–6, 1990. It was hosted by the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation and the Abteilung Musikethnologie, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. The sessions took place at the Heimvolkshochschule Jagdschloß Glienicke.

The Seminar focussed on the general topic of *Historical Developments and Recent Trends in Ethnomusicology*.

Special attention was given to *Comparative and Psychological Aspects in Ethnomusicology*. To what degree are the earlier approaches of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology pursued in present-day ethnomusicological research? Are there links between earlier psychological approaches and current developments in our field in reference to empirical and theoretical psychology, as well as cognitive theory? Contributions emphasized historical as well as systematic aspects.

Regional Studies in European Ethnomusicology were supposed to stimulate methodological and theoretical discussions on the most current topics in research or informed participants about on-going projects and work in progress.

Contributions to the theme *Film/Video as Means of Analysis and Dissemination of Music and Dance* were supposed to address the problems of techniques in the analysis and dissemination of ethnomusicological film and video documents in research and the mass media.

Written contributions were compiled in a prepublication and sent out to all registered participants. At the time of their scheduled talks, authors were asked to give a summary of 10 minutes duration in order to leave ample time for subsequent discussions which lasted up to 20 minutes.

Program Schedule

Monday, October 1

12:00 (– 17:00) Registration
12:30 Lunch
17:00 Opening of the Seminar
Speakers: Prof. Dr. Max Peter Baumann (Director of the IICMSD), Jacov Rabau (Director of the Heimvolkshochschule, Jagdschloß Glienicke), Dr. Anke Martiny (Senator of Cultural Affairs, Berlin)
Opening Lecture: Prof. Dr. Erich Stockmann (President of the Scientific Board, IICMSD) *Ethnomusicology in Berlin – Aspects and Perspectives*
18:00 Reception
19:00 Supper

Tuesday, October 2

Historical Developments and Recent Trends in Ethnomusicology

8:00 – 9:00 Breakfast
9:00 – 10:30 **Session 1**
Chair: Artur Simon

Ki Mantle Hood (Baltimore), *The Quantum Theory of Music*
Givani Mikhailov (Moscow), *Music Versus Phonons: How Hegemony of Discursivity Suppressed Natural Creativity in Sphere of Sound (a Trial of Systemological Approach)*
Marcello Sorce Keller (Milan), *Analytical Trends in the Field of Ethnomusicology: Some Remarks*

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10:30 Coffeebreak
11:00 – 12:00 **Session 2**
Chair: Max Peter Baumann

Michael Weber (Vienna), *Übernahme und Fortführung. Zum außermusikologischen Einfluß auf die 'Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft'/'Ethnomusikologie'*

Alois Mauerhofer (Graz), *Funktionen von Musik. Ein unklarer Begriff – Ein ungeklärtes Problem?*

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12:30 Lunch
14:30 –
16:00 **Session 3**
Chair: Barbara Krader

Boris A. Avramets (Riga), *The Berlin School of Comparative Musicology and the Moscow School of Musical Culturology: Continuity and New Approaches*
Dashinima S. Dugarov (Ulan-Ude, USSR), *Über zehn von Carl Stumpf veröffentlichte Volkslieder der Burjaten*
Jan Stęszewski (Poznan), *Über die Glaubwürdigkeit von Oskar Kolbergs musikethnologischer Sammlung. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik*

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16:00 Coffeebreak
16:30 –
18:00 **Session 4**
Chair: Robert Günther

Mark Trewin (London), *Musical Studies in Western Tibet (Ladakh): Some Historical and Comparative Aspects of the Pioneering Work of August Hermann Francke*
Izaliy Zemtsovskiy (Leningrad), *Folk Music Script as Document of a Specific Ethnoperception*
Francis Cameron (Oxford), *The Teaching of Ethnomusicology in United Kingdom Universities*

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18:00 Supper
19:30 Business Meeting of ESEM

Wednesday, October 3

Comparative and Psychological Aspects in Ethnomusicology

8:00 – 9:00 Breakfast

9:00 –
10:30 **Session 5**
Chair: Onno Mensink

John Baily (Brighton), *Music Performance, Motor Structure, and Cognitive Models*
Max Peter Baumann (Berlin), *The Ear as Organ of Cognition: Prolegomenon to the Anthropology of Hearing*
Alois Schmidhofer (Vienna), *Zur Tonhöhenwahrnehmung bei Xylophonklängen*

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10:30 Coffeebreak
11:00 –
12:00 **Session 6**
Chair: Anna Czekanowska

Irén Kertész-Wilkinson (London), *Musical Test Among Hungarian Vlach Gypsies*
Gisela Suliţeanu (Bucharest), *The Law of Psychological Implications and the Comparative Method in Contemporary Ethnomusicology*

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12:30 Lunch

Film/Video as Means of Analysis and Dissemination of Music and Dance

14:30 –
16:00 **Session 7**
Chair: Jos Gansemans

François Borel (Neuchâtel), *Tuarec* anzad *One-String Fiddle-Building and Playing* (video presentation)
Artur Simon (Berlin), *Videodokumentation und Feldforschungstechnik. Beispiele neuester musikethnographischer Aufzeichnungen in Westafrika* (video presentation)

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16:00 Coffeebreak
16:30 –
18:00 **Session 8**
Chair: Dietrich Schüller

Rudolf Brandl (Göttingen), *Video as Ethnomusicological Source Material versus Mediaperformance on Behalf of Chinese* nuo-*Maskdances in Anhui-Province* (video presentation)
Robert Gottlieb (San Francisco), *Circles-Cycles Kathak Dance* (film presentation)
Dorit Klebe-Wontroba (Berlin), *Löffeltänze aus Silifke (Türkei)* (film presentation)

18:00 Supper

Thursday, October 4

Current Regional Studies

8:00 – 9:00 Breakfast
9:00 –
10:30 **Session 9**
Chair: Josef Kuckertz

Mārtiņš Boiko (Latvia), *Zur Wechselwirkung zwischen regionalen Traditionen in der baltischen Volksmusik:* sutartinės-*Polyphonie und ostbaltische Refrainlieder*
Ingrid Rüütel (Tallinn, USSR), *Tradition and Innovation in Estonian Folk Music Today (on the Material of the Kihnu Traditional Culture)*
Anna Czekanowska (Warsaw), *On the Nature of Performance Media. Structuring or Modifying Factor only? (Examples from Slavonic Countries)*

Session 10
Chair: Robert Günther

Mireille Helffer (Paris), *Bilan des travaux occidentaux relatifs aux musiques rituelles du bouddhisme tibétain (1960-1990)*
Keith Howard (Durham), *Musicology as a Science? Thirty Years of Indigenous Korean Music Studies*
Hae-kyung Um (Belfast), *Changing Views on the Aesthetics of* p'ansori, *Korean Narrative Music, with Special Reference to* "Ch'unhyang-ga" *("The Song of Ch'unghyang")*

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10:30 Coffeebreak
11:00 –
12:30 **Session 11**
Chair: Simha Arom

Ewa Dahlig (Warsaw), *Music and Dance Activities in Polish Folk Tradition – The Problem of Syncretism*
Piotr Dahlig (Warsaw), *Music Tradition in Individual Interpretation: a Case Study of Resettled Dulcimer Players in Poland*

Session 12
Chair: Rudolf Brandl
Andreas Gutzwiller (Basel), Über den Rhythmus in shakuhachi honkyoku
Frank Kouwenhoven/Antoinet Schimmelpenninck (Leiden), *Chasing a Folk Tune in Southern Jiangsu, China*

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12:30 Lunch, followed by a bus tour of the city
14:00 (Meeting of the Scientific Board of IICMSD)
18:00 Supper at the Conference Site
19:30 Business Meeting of ESEM

Friday, October 5

Current Regional Studies (continued)

8:00 – 9:00 Breakfast
9:00 –
10:30 **Session 13**
Chair: Gisela Suliţeanu

Dan Corneliu Georgescu (Berlin), *A propos des systèmes mélodiques: le folklore musical roumain*
Speranţa Rădulescu (Bucharest), *Traditional Music in Man-Oriented Cognitive Acts. Some Romanian Cases*
Nice Fracile (Novi Sad, Yugoslavia), *New Tendencies in the Evolution of the Traditional Dance Music as Illustrated by Means of the Roumanians of Vojvodina, Yugoslavia*

Session 14
Chair: Christian Kaden

Saule Utegalijewa (Alma-Ata, USSR), *Stilunterscheidende Merkmale im musikalischen Denken der kasachischen* küjschi
Sławorima Żerańska-Kominek (Warsaw), *The Turkmen* bakhshy: *Shaman and/or Artist*
Peter Crowe (Bordeaux), *"You you savvy sing sing?" Becoming a Smart Melanesian Performer*

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10:30 Coffeebreak
11:00 –
12:00 **Session 15**
Chair: Jan Stęszewski

Susanne Ziegler (Berlin), *The Discovery of Georgian Polyphony. Varying Trends in a Century of Research*
Helen Vassyltchenko (Moscow), *The Vertical Structure of Musical Text: Several Comparisons at the Civilizational Level*

Session 16
Chair: François Borel

Jean-Claude Chabrier (Paris), *Une analyse modale comparative du* maqām irāqī lāmī
Moncef Hasnaoui (Alger), *Les principes fondamentaux de la pensée musicale orientale (analyse structurelle, fonctionelle et esthétique)*

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12:30 Lunch
14:30 –
16:00 **Session 17**
Chair: Peter Crowe

Simha Arom/Susanne Fürniss (Paris), *Le système pentatonique des Pygmées Aka de Centrafrique*
Vincent Dehoux/Frédéric Voisin (Paris), *Procédures d'analyse des echelles dans les musiques avec xylophones d'Afrique Centrale*
Ime Ukpanah (Belfast), *Changing Perceptions of African Musical Structures*

Session 18
Chair: Laurent Aubert

André-Marie Despringre (Paris), *A Methodological Approach to the Study of Songs from the French Provinces: Concepts and Methods for the Analysis of these Symbolic Forms*
Maria Antònia Juan i Nebot (Barcelona), *Folk Music Research and the Development of Ethnomusicology in Catalonia Since 1850*

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17:30 Supper
18:15 Bus leaves for the Museum für Völkerkunde, Lansstr. 8, 1000 Berlin 33
18:45 –
19:45 Guided tour of the special exhibition "The Gods of the Himalayas – Buddhist Art of Tibet" given by Dr. Claudius Müller, or Tour of the Abteilung Musikethnologie, given by Prof. Artur Simon
20:00 Concert at the Museum für Völkerkunde *The Seoul Ensemble of Traditional Korean Music*
Small reception following the concert

Saturday, October 6

8:00 – 9:00 Breakfast
9:00 Plenary Session for members of ESEM
12:00 End of Seminar

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The European Seminar in Ethnomusicology (ESEM)

The Seminar is a meeting place for professional ethnomusicologists (accepting advanced students in its ranks) who live and work in Europe, or whose advanced studies were done in Europe. There are some 240 members, including student members, from Northern Ireland to USSR, from Sweden to Greece. Members' fieldwork is conducted in all corners of the world, for every continent or archipelago there is someone among the members with expert ethnomusicological knowledge gained from personal experience. A number of members are expert in archives and collections of instruments and documentary material of all kinds. Half of the ESEM members are also members of ICTM (Directory of November 1989).

The life of the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology is above all in the seminars themselves. English, French and German are the "official" languages. The seminars have been held in different places: Köln in 1983, Belfast in 1985, London 1986, Paris 1987, Tuczno (Polska) 1988, Siena 1989 – and the VIIth Seminar was held in Berlin from 1 to 6 October, 1990. Plans are under way for the VIIIth Seminar to be held near Genève from 23 to 29 September 1991.

A newsletter called INFO is published, and the 16th issue appeared at the end of June 1990. Directories of Members, containing invaluable information, were published in 1984, 1986 and 1989. While the Seminar itself has not published proceedings of any meetings to date, papers from the 1986 London Seminar, Ethnomusicology and the Historical Dimension (ed. Philipp) were published in 1989 by Philipp Verlag (ISBN 3-9801870-1-2). The Italian Society for Ethnomusicology has plans to publish some of the papers given at Siena, and the organizers of the Berlin seminar pre-published the papers accepted, with the idea that the seminar will devote itself to more discussion than mere readings.

Fees currently stand at 88 FF (or equivalent) for 1990 (students 44 FF). Please note that bank charges are your responsibility. Payment may be made direct to "Peter Crowe, Ethnomusicologie"; CCP N'I.959.03 E. Toulouse (this is equivalent to a postal giro a/c). Peter Crowe
Acting Honorary Treasurer

VIIe Séminaire Européen d'Ethnomusicologie, Genève 23-29 septembre 1991

Les membres du Comité scientifique sont Laurent Aubert, François Borel, Georges Goormaghtigh et Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff.

Les principaux thèmes du Séminaire seront (programme provisoire):

(1) *Méthodes de terrain en ethnomusicologie*
Problèmes et perspectives;
outils technologiques et outils conceptuels;
dimension psychologique de l'enquête;
découvertes récentes.

(2) *La musique comme texte*
L'explicite et l'implicite de l'énoncé musical;
ordre musical, ordre social, ordre cosmique;
ethnomusicologie et philologie musicale;
musiques à programme et symbolique musicale;
les domains de l'esthétique.

(3) *Polyphonies*
Typologie, un essai de définition globale;
méthodes de transcription et d'analyse spectrale;
aspects acoustiques, psychologiques et sociaux de la polyphonie;
la polyphonie comme système de representation.

(4) *Les applications actuelles de l'ethnomusicologie*
Les musiques extra-européennes dans le contexte européen;
musiques traditionnelles et World Music: sensibilisation et récupération;
les contrecoups de la folklorisation et de l'institutionnalisation;
vers un circuit des musiques traditionnelles;
au-delà de la bi-musicalité: Communication hors thèmes;
recherches en cours et découvertes récentes.

(5) *Concerts et animations musicales*
Visages du Jodel en Suisse centrale présentés par Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser;
atelier de musique andine présenté par Pancho Valdivia Taucán;
Skaros, musique d'Epire et d'Albanie présentée par Gilles Torrent;
la cithare chinoise qin présentée par Georges Goormaghtigh;
exposition "Genève à la rencontre des musiques du monde" – présentée par Laurent Aubert.

"A Century of Field Recording: An International Symposium." Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana USA, March 21–24, 1990

Few ethnomusicologists would question the claim that no other technological development has had as powerful a paradigmatic impact on the modern development of their field as field recording. Recording technology transformed the ethnomusicologist's negotiation with the field, bringing it in some sense close to home, but also making its diversity and its ongoing processes of complex change more apparent. The institutions and methodologies of modern ethnomusicology were themselves redefined by field recording. Sound archives, new forms of transcription and documentation, and the mass distribution of cassettes all came to systematize and problematize ethnomusicological activities during the century since the first field recordings were made.

Recording technology has had no less an impact in the transformation of the human side of fieldwork, potentially lending greater sensitivity to the encounter between individual ethnographer and consultant, and empowering each individual, amateur or professional, to document the world of music around her or him. Surely, it would be impossible to imagine a modern ethnomusicology that was not profoundly shaped by the first century of field recording.

One might not expect that a single conference could at once survey the intellectual and technological history of this history and bring about the intensive investigation of those moments and individuals most responsible for transforming our use of fieldwork, but the conference at the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University achieved just that in truly impressive fashion. Although organized and sponsored by one of the most notable ethnomusicological institutions owing its existence to field recording, the conference did not concentrate on any single parameter of field recording, for example archiving, but took as its goal to present the varied paths field recording has pursued. Field recordings, thus meant many things to the many different participants, and the papers and discussion sessions unquestionably broadened the accepted definitions and limits of field recording. Overall, the various sessions gave a sense of both historical change and the return to central issues and concerns. Accordingly, the questions addressed to the scholars presenting historical research on the late 19th century resonated with many of the same concerns as queries about the financial viability of the latest digital techniques.

The papers presented on the first session of the conference established the issues prevalent during the first decades of field recording. In her paper, "Looking for the Band: Early Patterns of Response to the Phonograph," Erika Brady (Western Kentucky University) described just how problematic the non-human presence of early recording devices was for those being recorded. Just how does the machine steal music? Or how does the band fit in the stylus? Contemporary worries about recording technology may be slightly different, but in fact they reflect attitudes that Brady cited from the late 19th century. "Recording the World's Music in 1893: Re-Creating the Field at Chicago's Columbian Exposition," a paper delivered by Philip V. Bohlman and Carolyn S. Johnson (University of Chicago), provided an in-depth look at the first attempt to record a cross-section of world music's, these gathered together for a world's fair in Chicago, USA. The 101 cylinder recordings, gathered by Benjamin Ives Gilman and Franz Boas, among others, witness just how the field itself can be reshaped by the recording itself. Douglas Park's (Indiana University) paper, "The Roaming Scout Cylinder Recordings as a Source of Pawnee Ethnography," was the fist of many papers that illustrated the power of field recording to conflate different disciplines and disciplinary techniques, illuminating not one field but many. Michael Heisley (Southwest Museum of Los Angeles, USA), in a delightful close to the first session, presented a biographical discussion of Charles F. Lummis, whose approach to the field was on its surface that of a popularist, but who used to do field recording to produce one of the richest sources for documentation of the American Southwest.

The second session rose from what were called "Contextual Issues of Field Recording." Two papers by Africanist scholars from two different continents revealed not just two approaches to the field, but a vast range of strategies and philosophies that are necessary if one faces the persistent necessity of rethinking one's approach to African musical contexts. Gerhard Kubik's (Vienna, Austria) "Field Recording in Africa: The Making of Emically Meaningful Documents" tackled one of the central questions in all of ethnomusicology, meaning as understood by the music makers themselves. Thomas D. Blakely and Pamela A. R. Blakely (University of Pennsylvania) presented abundant audio and visual examples from their own research, in which they eloquently illustrated the ways in which one can let the culture speak for itself by letting the field recording become a vehicle for ethnographic thick description. Brenda Farnell (Indiana University) used the case study of Plains Indian Sign Language to investigate the broad questions of notation, in this case an examination of how a return to the recordings and films of sign language offer new suggestions for notational procedures.

The second day of the conference began with accounts of contemporary musical communities and field recordings endeavours. Anne Rasmussen (UCLA), Gila Flam (United States Holocaust Museum), and Andrew Weintraub (Institute of Culture Communications) all drew from their own ethnographic experiences. Both the similarities and differences of these experiences were striking. Even though the papers shared the common theme of contemporary communities, it was perhaps even more interesting to note just how recordings allowed a reconstruction of the past, particularly for the members of the community attempting to understand just how music has come to bridge past and present.

Even though field recordings theoretically create a greater access to all musics of the world, this increased access is not without its problems. J. Patrick O'Neill (York University) located the very first instance of these problems in the very first field recordings, namely those made by Jesse Walter Fewkes of Passamaquoddy songs in 1890. Approaching these recordings in many different ways still left many questions about accuracy and meaning unanswered for O'Neill. John Hasse (Smithsonian Institution) relocated the problems of access in 1990 through his paper on "Publishing Field Recordings." For the scholar or amateur wishing to release a recording, there are virtually limitless possibilities, but each possibility generates a complex of difficult questions, again for which answers are difficult and inconclusive. The legal and professional nature of these questions was the subject of Anthony Seeger's (Smithsonian Institution) paper, "Getting It Right for the Record: Issues in the Commercial Release of Field Recordings." Seeger framed his presentation with some personal issues, still again reminding the conference of the human issues that are so essential in any encounter with the field.

The papers of the final day dealt most directly with the cutting-edge technologies of field recordings. On one hand, these technologies were impressive in the way they help the ethnomusicologist deal with older materials, a topic addressed by Dietrich Schüller (Phonogramm Archiv, Vienna), and Richard Blaustein and Tim Stafford (East Tennessee State University). On the other hand, these technologies can at times become so costly and inaccessible that few ethnomusicologists can in reality afford them and keep up with them, a problem investigated by Kenneth L. Ware (Indiana University). If these papers were somewhat daunting and discomforting, they also served as a reminder that we who use field recordings must invest our time and energy into their development if they are best to serve our needs.

"A Century of Field Recording" afforded ample opportunities for both formal and informal discussions. There were roundtable discussions devoted to "The Legacy and Future Direction of

Field Recordings" and "Historical and Current Perspective on the Archiving of Sound Recordings." The gracious facilities of the Archives of Traditional Music themselves stimulated a great deal of thought and exchange, for guests at the conference were invited to interact with the wealth of field recordings housed at Indiana University. As the conference proceeded, the centrality of field recording became increasingly more apparent. Indeed, if the first century of field recording did much to direct and shape modern ethnomusicology, we can expect an even more significant impact during the second century.

Philip V. Bohlman

"Traditional Music of the World," CD-Series Vol. 1: *Viola Caipira/Roberto Correa (Brazil)*

Edited by the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies Berlin (IICMSD) in Cooperation with the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM – UNESCO C).- BM 505 801-CD:DDD, with English commentary and Portuguese summary.

In May 1990 the first compact disc of the series *"Traditional Music of the World"* was issued, edited by the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation (Berlin) in cooperation with the International Council for Traditional Music (cf. the announcement in the *Bulletin of the ICTM* No. LXXIV, April 1989:5, and in *the world of music* 30, 1989(3):143). The series is published by Bärenreiter-Musicaphon in Kassel, F.R.G.

Volume 1 *"Viola Caipira"* is devoted to a brilliant musician, Roberto Correa from central Brazil, and his guitar-like instrument, the *viola caipira*, which has ten metallic strings. Correa's musical repertory consists of traditional pieces from the rural *caipira* tradition as well as his own arrangements and compositions, which are themselves closely related to that tradition. The 25 musical pieces of the digitally recorded and mastered CD are described in English in a comprehensive booklet accompanying the volume, which also includes a Portuguese summary. The general commentary (55 pages), musical transcriptions (11 items), song texts (4), illustrations (12) result from the extensive research carried out by author Tiago de Oliveira Pinto, in collaboration with the musician.

The CD-Series *"Traditional Music of the World,"* as well as a catalogue of the earlier records of the UNESCO collection, edited by the IICMSD and published by Bärenreiter Musicaphon, are directly available for wholesale dealers through Disco-Center or for general customers through the addresses listed below.

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Disco-Center GmbH/Musicaphon
Postfach 10 10 29, 3500 Kassel/FRG
Tel.: (0561) 32 021 or.: (0561) 32 022, Fax.: (0561) 37 625

Australia
Thomas' Recorded Music, Southern Cross Hotel, 95 Bourke Street, AUS-Melbourne, VIC 3000, Tel.: (03) 650 2403-4, Fax.: (03) 650 7635

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Cura Verlag, Beatrixgasse 32, A-1037 Wien, Tel.: (01222) 73 64 80

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USA

World Music Institute Inc., 49 West 27th Street-Suite 810, New York, N.Y. 10001, Tel.: (0212) 206-1050

Symposion: "Az ethnomuzikológia perspektívái – Feladatok és célok Magyarországon és a Német Szövetségi Köztársaságban" / "Perspektiven der Musikethnologie – Ihre Aufgaben und Ziele in Ungarn und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" in Budapest, April 22 – 26, 1990

Motivated by early and persisting contacts between Budapest and Berlin in the tradition of ethnomusicology, and encouraged by the actual politico-cultural development in Europe and especially in the two participating countries, Lujza Tari (Budapest) and Bruno Reuer (Berlin) initiated the symposion on "Perspectives of Ethnomusicology – It's Tasks and Aims in Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany." Their aim was to take up the dialogue on intra- and intercultural relations, methodology and new media, as well as future cooperation in research. The conference was organized by the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézet, the Musicological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, in cooperation with the Department of Ethnomusicology at the Museum of Ethnography Berlin and the Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk e.V. München, furthermore supported by the Goethe Institute Budapest.

In her introductory paper Lujza Tari made some remarks on the beginnings of ethnomusicology / *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* in Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest. She stressed the parallel developments regarding e.g. Bartók's and von Hornbostel's works or Curt Sachs and the *"Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae."* Bruno Reuer set out from Kurt Reinhard's approach of investigating foreign music cultures as an essential step towards the understanding of peoples, and he gave a brief survey on the actual tasks and problems in ethnomusicology, as there are among others:

- where to start joint field research, e.g. of Hungarian and German scholars,
- improvement of technical equipment in Hungarian institutions,
- intensifying influence on school education,
- setting up additional archives, and
- contributing to cultural historiography.

Starting with Artur Simon's (Berlin) report on new media (such as research film, video, sound sampling, video disc) and their implications on research results, there followed a number of papers dealing mainly with methodological questions in the investigation of foreign music cultures. Veit Erlmann (Berlin) made the remark that "speech mode" and the scholar's subjectivity had to be thought over again. Max Peter Baumann (Berlin) added that – according to constructivism – reality is the result of communication, and that a large equipment in field research interferes with this communication as well as the researcher's view on "reality." In reply Simon took the view that – despite of the scholar's subjectivity and selective ideas in any film or video recording – ethnomusicologists have the task to enforce the documentation of historical materials for those cultures they are in contact with.

Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (Berlin) gave a report on the activities of the Setor de Etnomusicologia at the Dpto. de Antropologia of Saõ Paulo University and the aim of the local scholars to gain some influence on Brasilian politics concerning the Indio ethnic groups. In collaboration with the International Institute for Comparative Music

Studies and Documentation at Berlin they documented the music of a Cayapó-Xikrin group, and the scholars from Berlin (Max Peter Baumann, Linda Fujie, and Tiago de Oliveira Pinto) held courses on methods in ethnomusicology, archiving techniques, organology etc. at São Paulo. In a survey on the project "Berliner Klangbilder traditioneller Musik," a documentation with accompanying booklet of performers living in West Berlin practicing any kind of non-classical Western music, Hans Brandeis (Berlin) presented several examples from the wide spectrum of recordings ranging from a German *shakuhachi*-player to a Turkish *saz* ensemble or an Afghan harmonium and *tabla* duo. Max Peter Baumann referred to the contributions of Pinto and Brandeis as examples of intercultural and intracultural approach. Research in bilateral groups of scholars and/or musicians had to include joint planning, organization as well as realization and would help to overcome nationalism and cultural (neo-)colonialism. Baumann sees one of the future tasks of ethnomusicology in becoming a source for new music styles and pluralism, though by protecting the copyright of the countries of origin. In his critical comment "What is the price of authenticity?" referring to the performances of a Bura drum and xylophone ensemble from Borno, Nigeria, at the Berlin Perkussionale Festival in 1989, Raimund Vogels propagated a more cautious planning and realization of foreign musicians' concert tours to Western countries, especially relating to the politico-cultural impact on their future lives in their home countries.

On the part of the Hungarian scholars István Halmos (Budapest) reported about his field research with a Venezuelan Indio group, the Piaroa, and the phonetical basis of their vocal music. Two papers were presented about the Hungarian research on Finno-Ugrian folk music: Lászlo Vikár (Budapest) gave a survey on the vocal styles of different Finno-Ugrian ethnic or linguistic groups and a summary of the research history on these styles. Owing to the question about Vikár's approach to the common roots of Hungarian and Finno-Ugrian culture the discussion led to the structure of melodic lines in European comparison, which cannot be resolved without the collaboration of ethnomusicologists and linguists – a method which has been applied by Katalin Lázár. She and the linguist Éva Schmidt (both Budapest) have investigated improvised songs from the Ugrians in the Ob region with regard to poetic-linguistic versus musical accentuation and melodic lines.

The second group of conference papers was dedicated to Hungarian folk music, including German speaking and Gypsy minorities as well as a Hungarian minority in Rumania. Bálint Sárosi dealt with "Hungary's Musical Image Abroad," and according to the publications of the ICTM he came to the conclusion that the Hungarian scholars had to come to a worldwide way of thinking rather than national Hungarian research, especially in respect to theory and methodology. The edition of *"Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae,"* it's tasks and aims were reported about by Mária Domokos (Budapest). Problems of this project appear in bringing the vast materials to a superior order as to create a basis for the analysis of the Hungarian folk music which still produces variants even now.

The songs of the Csángó, a Hungarian minority in Rumanian Moldavia, collected and published by Sándor Veress in 1930, were the object Melinda Berlász (Budapest) dealt with. The special compiling method of Veress was the immediate listing and classification of the melodies in staff-like notation. Katalin Kovalcsik (Budapest) presented music from her field research with different Gypsy groups living in southeast European countries, demonstrating the ethnically and regionally differing styles of original Gypsy music guided by amazing examples of vocal imitation of instrumental sounds – a contribution which might inspire others to do further field research on Gypsy music. In the field of methodology István Pintér (Budapest) reported about the development of automatical music notation, especially with it's main problems of differentiating and analyzing tone color and tone structure – from the point of view of "sound microscopy."

As an introduction to the field of the folk music of Danube-Swabians (*Donauschwaben*), a German minority in southeastern Europe, Gottfried Habenicht (Freiburg, FRG) gave a summary of the historical development, present state, and perspectives of music collection and research in this area. The contribution of Katharina Schaller-Wenzlitschke (Offenbach, FRG) was directed against any approach of analyzing Danube-Swabian folk songs as a kind of static condition, since the results of her research showed that the vocal performance style (*Singstil*) depends on the actual popularity or estimation of a song. Konrad Scheierling (Crailsheim, FRG) has worked on collections of folk and spiritual songs which are published for the purpose of revival in West Germany, disseminated through mass media and arranged editions for choirs and folk music ensembles. In her report about the less documented or analyzed instrumental folk music of the German speaking minority in Hungary Lujza Tari finally gave a summary on the research history as well as several examples of marches and polkas, played on accordeon.

The concluding roundtable was started with a statement of Veit Erlmann concerning the conception of "tradition." He criticized that this word was used too often for something he would call "fictional tradition." Erlmann suggests a more reflected use of "tradition" in the broadest sense of the word, including breaks, changes, and innovation, but excluding the danger that scholars might construct the social or historical context of music which is not related to reality. On the other hand Adelheid Feilcke-Tiemann (Kiel, FRG) proposed to talk about problems of methodology and communication which was so different in Hungarian and German research. The following discussion did not lead to any central subject, but showed a vast spectrum of individual interests as there are, for example, theoretical or historical approaches, mastering and exploitation of archive materials, international contacts and better understanding.

All the discussions centered mainly on methodology, questions of international understanding, and nationalism / eurocentrism, but in general communication between the Hungarian and the German participants appeared as rather difficult. A lively exchange of ideas and experience rather took place in the individual contacts of participants who met at the Budapest conference. The contributions will be published by the Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, München (Reihe B: Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten).

Ursula Michel

Symposium: "European Cultural Policy Directed Towards New Tasks." Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1990

From September 3rd to 4th, 1990, an international symposium was held in the Scientific Centre of Bonn-Bad Godesberg on the topic of concepts and goals of cultural policy in tomorrow's Europe. The conference was hosted and organized by the Institute for Foreign Relations (Stuttgart) and attended by representatives of cultural institutions from over seventeen nations from eastern and western Europe. General theses on this topic were presented by Dr. Barthold C. Witte (Director for Cultural Relations, Federal Foreign Office, Bonn) in his paper "Towards a European Cultural Policy" (cf. below). Another main paper was given by Prof. Dr. Jan Jôzef Lipski (head of the Polish Socialist Party) on "New Fields and Possibilities of European Cultural Policy".

Representatives of European organizations concerned with music, theater, and the fine arts as well as members of UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the European Community and other diverse non-profit organizations gave specific statements contrasting the abstract political concepts with their concrete problems and concerns. Whether one agrees or not that there is a need at all for a *European* cultural policy, that the working hypotheses of the German Office for Cultural Relations are publicly discussed – and in an international forum, at that – must be appreciated. The first step towards the creation of a federalistic forum has been made through this symposium and one can only hope that other countries will follow this idea in the future, with similar discussions of their theses and approaches.

Because the discussed theses for a European cultural policy are of a broader interest, they are quoted here in full. These theses, outlined by Dr. Barthold Witte, can be seen as a framework into which ethnomusicological interests and activities may fit or not (cf. the symposium on "Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy" (*the world of music* 1988(3):121-4). In either case, they can stimulate discussions referring to traditional music and cultural policy in general, as well as to the concept behind the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology.

Max Peter Baumann

Towards a European Cultural Policy
(by Dr. Barthold Witte)

1. Being European is a question of self-perception. Europe as an intellectual, cultural and political reality thrives on the European consciousness of its people. After the major catastrophes of the first half of this century, it is now once again becoming an influential factor in this one world.
2. European culture was never the property of the Europeans alone. It has greatly influenced large parts of the world. Its actual roots lie in the concept of individual freedom. This is why it survived the inhumane dictators if this century unscathed and preserved its unity during the period when Europe was divided.
3. European cultural policy remains committed to the concept of freedom. It encompasses all political efforts undertaken at international, national, regional and local levels to assign a key role within the process of European unification to culture, preserve Europe's and the Europeans' cultural self-determination, promote cultural creativity, strengthen the European consciousness and engage in intensive dialogue with cultures outside Europe. Its foremost aim is to reinforce democracy throughout Europe.
4. European cultural policy aims not at a "Fortress Europe," but at a Europe characterized by openness, where people are free to meet, engage in direct exchange and undertake joint projects. The unifying power of culture, which has held our continent together throughout the decades of divisions, must be used to help achieve the new Europe – a peaceful order.
5. The real issue is the unification of the whole of Europe, based on intellectual freedom, individual dignity and the protection of human rights. First and foremost, European cultural policy must protect and promote freedom of research and teaching, culture and information and the autonomy of the individual. It bears special responsibility for the cultures of small nations and national minorities.
6. The main objective of cultural cooperation is unity in diversity. The processes of political and economic integration in Europe must be supported by cultural freedom, openness and variety. For the individual, unity in diversity is a guarantee of unity in freedom.
7. Unity in diversity means dual federalism. The traditional nation-states require joint supranational institutions to organize meetings between individuals and intellectual exchange, as well as autonomous communities and regions to act as a continuous source from which to renew and replenish their cultural strength. Europe is not a substitute for nations, regions and communities; rather, it is a new form of encounter between the known and the unknown.
8. The phrase "unity in diversity" is not synonymous with a harmonious idyll of cultural coexistence. European cultural policy expressly embraces conflicting opinions and debate. It encourages the stimulating coexistence of cultures as well as the creative tension between them. It seeks the fac-

tors linking Europe specifically in the critical appraisal of national and regional differences.

9. European cultural policy thrives on dialogue between Europeans as well as with non-European cultures. It fosters give-and-take between all world cultures on the basis of openness, partnership and tolerance. Thus it plays a part in promoting the culture of freedom and protecting the cultural heritage of mankind.
10. In the main, European cultural policy is still pursued through bilateral programmes, but increasingly it is acquiring multilateral dimensions. All approaches, whether bilateral or within the framework of the EC, the Council of Europe or the CSCE process, must be actively developed and more closely interwoven.
11. After unification has been achieved, Germany, a nation with open borders at the heart of Europe, can fully resume its traditional role as cultural mediator between East and West and between North and South. But the political framework for this presupposes the Germans'clear support, not given during certain periods of their history, for shared basic values, diversity and democracy in freedom.

31st World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, Hong Kong, July 3-9, 1991

The International Council for Traditional Music has pleasure in announcing that its Thirty First World Conference will be held from July 3-9, at the Hong Kong Cultural Centre in Kowloon, Hong Kong. The Conference will be co-organized by: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, Hong Kong Government Music Office, Hong Kong Institute for Promotion of Chinese Culture Regional Council, Society for Ethnomusicological Research in Hong Kong Urban Council.

Themes of the Conference

The following themes have been established for the Conference:

1. "Current Research in Chinese Music"
   Special subtheme: "Hong Kong and Macau's Role in the Innovation and Modernization of Chinese Music."
   Other subthemes to be announced.
2. "Role of the Great Religions in the Musical and Dance Traditions of Asia"
3. "European Music in Asia: Reception and Transformation"

Programme Committee:

Prof. Bell Yung, chairman
Prof. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco
Prof. Dieter Christensen
Prof. Qiao Jianzhong
Dr. Tsao Pen-yeh

Papers

Members who wish to read a paper are asked to send their proposal by October 1, 1990 to

Prof. Bell Yung
Music Department, University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA
Tel.: (412) 624-4061; Fax (412) 648-5911
e-mail: byun@ pittvms.bitnet

Proposals should include the title of the paper, an outline of its contents (ca. 150 words), the language in which the paper will be read, and the type(s) of illustrations to be used. It is expected that all papers will present new insights. Proposals whose contents have been previously presented in print or otherwise will be rejected. The programme Committee reserves the right to accept those proposals which, in their opinion, fit best into the scheme of the conference. Chinese (Mandarin Chinese) and English are the official languages of the Conference; papers written or delivered in other languages will not be accepted.

The meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Gender, planned to take place in Oakland, California, October 31 — November 4, 1990, will be postponed until March 1991. The meeting will probably take place at the University of Maryland. For further information please contact:

Professor Marcia Herndon
9513 Pin Oak Drive
Silverspring, Maryland MD 20910
USA

John Blacking Scholarship Appeal

The Queen's University of Belfast has launched an appeal to establish a scholarship in memory of Professor John Blacking. The scholarship will enable a deserving and well-qualified postgraduate student from an overseas country to come to Belfast to undertake studies leading to a diploma, a master's degree or a doctorate.

Donations can be made either in the form of lump sums or as pledges of annual subscriptions over specified periods of time. Cheques should be made payable to "QUB John Blacking Memorial" and sent to the Secretary, John Blacking Memorial Department of Social Anthropology and Ethnomusicology, the Queen's University of Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN. Further information about the appeal is available from Dr. Reginald Byron telephone (0232) 24 51 33 ext. 3700/1.

Klaus Wachsmann Prize for Thomas Vennum, Jr

The committee awarded its first prize in 1985 to Hugo Zemp for his work on instruments and instrumental music of the Soloman Islands and for his film on Swiss yodelling. Thereafter the committee was inactive for a time, but it is now in full swing again and hopes to establish a rhythm of awarding the Prize every two years.

We are happy to announce that the 1989 Prize has been awarded to Thomas Vennum, Jr., of the Smithsonian Institution, for his distinguished study "The Ojibwa Dance Drum, its History and Construction," and for his video film on the same subject.

The members of the Committee in 1988-1989 were Professors Osamu Yamaguti, Osaka, Japan; Tilman Seebass, Duke University; Hugo Zemp, Paris; and Barbara Krader, West Berlin.

Barbara Krader

Lois Ibsen al Faruqi Award

Out of four nominations, the Lois Ibsen al Faruqi Award Committee chose Bir Zeit University on the West Bank for the first award consisting of a gift membership of the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) for three years (1990 through 1992). A major university on the West Bank, Bir Zeit is increasingly important as a center for the study of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim Folklore in the region. Faculty there have been identified the need to collect, document, and study the distinctive musical traditions of the Levant (for example, the great Antar epic cycle). The committee believes that the al Faruqi Award would provide exactly the sort of support vital to the encouragement of those faculty members and students at Bir Zeit who could develop our field of ethnomusicology at the university.

Regula Burckhardt Qureshi

Indonesian Performing Arts: Music, Dance, Drama, Poetry. 30 July – 3 August 1990

From the 30th July to 3rd August 1990 the School of Oriental and African Studies hosted an international symposium on Indonesian Performing Arts: Music, Dance, Drama and Poetry. Since one of the main objectives of the symposium was to bridge the gaps between the various performing arts, several genres and regions were covered, and speakers were of varying disciplinary backgrounds.

The group of speakers included musicologists, anthropologists, literary critics and students of dance from Australia, West Germany, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Among the topics discussed were: central and east Javanese dance, dance drama and *wayang*; Sundanese music and dance; dramatic principles of Hindu-Javanese temple reliefs; Balinese dance and dance drama; the possible origins of the *slendro* and *pelog* tuning systems in India; Rendra's protest poetry and various other aspects of modern Indonesian poetry. Themes included tradition and innovation, interrelations between performing arts and the social context of performing arts.

Association for Research in Vietnamese Music founded

Until recently the study of Vietnamese traditional music has been limited to only a few dedicated individuals. To refelect the growing interest in this rich musical culture both in the United States and elsewhere, the Association for Research in Vietnamese Music (ARVM) has been founded. ARVM hopes to focus efforts to document and analyze Vietnamese musical traditions and to create a clearinghouse for information about such efforts. The organization has been created to bring together all who have an interest in Vietnamese music, including artists, academic scholars, teachers, and concert presenters. Co-Presidents are Phong Nguyen and Terry Miller.

Membership in ARVM is available for individuals ($ 10) and institutions ($ 20) by writing to ARVM, Box 16, Kent, Ohio 44240. Members will receive the quarterly, *Nbac Viet Newsletter.*

Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology: A New Book Series in Ethnomusicology

This new series is a forum for the fundamental critical issues and emerging theoretical concerns in ethnomusicology. It is edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Bruno Nettl and published by the University of Chicago Press. Books in this series will interpret the various relationships between music and culture as influenced by ethnomusicology. Many of the books published will be cross-disciplinary, drawing from research and scholarship in fields that have traditionally contributed to the history and development of ethnomusicology: anthropology, historical musicology, folklore, linguistics, and regional and area studies. The first two volumes in this series are: Christopher Alan Waterman, *Jùjú. A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* and Margaret J. Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments* (due Nov. 1990).

Photocredits

Cover Surbahār player Bhagwan Chandra Das. From H. K. Roy Choudhury, *The Musicians of India.* By permission of the British Library. T 12824.

1 Akbar at court receives the child Abdu'r Rahim, heir of Bairam Khan. *"Akbarnāma,"* fol. 7. 1590s. Reproduced by permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum (London).

2 Infant son of King of Isfahan responds to music. *"Ṭūṭī-nāma,"* fol. 105r. 1560–65. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry, 62.279.

3 Hamza Nama marries daughter of Faridva Shah, who converts to Islam, *"Ḥamza Nāma,"* fol. V4. 1565–1572. Austrian Museum of Applied Art (Vienna).

4 Heavenly joys come to earth, *"Dīvān of Anvari,"* fol. 242r. 1588. Opaque watercolor on paper. Courtesy of The Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Gift of John Goelet.

5 Akbar at court receives the child Abdu'r Rahim, heir of Bairam Khan, *"Akbarnāma,"* detail of fol. 7. Reproduced by permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum (London).

6 The invention of musical instruments from monkey intestines, *"Ṭūṭī-nāma,"* fol. 108v. 1560s. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry, 62.279.

7 Hamza marries the daughter of Faridva Shah, who converts to Islam, *"Ḥamza Nāma,"* detail of fol. V4. 1565–72. Austrian Museum of Applied Art (Vienna).

8 Woman entertaining a wood spirit, *'Kathasaritasāgara."* C. 1590. From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. M.78.9.13.

9 A *tambūr* player. Jahangir Period 1605–1625. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913. 13.228.39.

10 *Sitār.* Patna c. 1820. By permission of the British Library. Add. Or. 2624.

11 "A Sittar." From F.B. Solvyns, *A Collection ot Two Hundred and Fifty Coloured Etchings ...* Calcutta 1799. By permission of the British Library. BL 149.i.16.

12 Dancer with accompanists. Cutch 1856. By permission of the British Library. Add. Or. 1520.

13 Jangi Khan, *sitār* player. Delhi 1815–27. By permission of the British Library. Add. Or. 1280:

14 "Bengali gallant" by Becharam Das Pande. Kalighat style, Calcutta, late 19th century. By permission of the British Library. Add. Or. 1877.

15 Ustad Inayat Khan (seated). From *The Report of the Second All-India Music Conference,* 1918.

16 Pandit Ravi Shankar, 1986 – credit: Marianne Barcellona.

17 *Manjirā* player accompanying *"Ālhā"* singing, Karela, U.P., 1983 – credit: Karine Schomer

18–21 Bundelkhand style of solo *"Ālhā"* performance. Singer: Parasram Sharma, Kharela, U.P., 1983 – credit: Karine Schomer

22 The *bhangra beat* group "Heera" in performance – credit: Paul Slattery, London.

23 *Bhangra* dancers in a discotheque – credit: Paul Slattery, London.

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